POLITICS OF HOUSING IN HISARÜSTÜ: INTERGENERATIONAL ENCOUNTERS IN AN ISTANBUL LOCALITY

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Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Sabancı University
July 2021

POLITICS OF HOUSING IN HISARÜSTÜ: INTERGENERATIONAL ENCOUNTERS IN AN ISTANBUL LOCALITY

Approved by:

Date of Approval: July 14, 2021

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ABSTRACT

POLITICS OF HOUSING IN HİSARÜSTÜ: INTERGENERATIONAL ENCOUNTERS IN AN ISTANBUL LOCALITY

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CULTURAL STUDIES M.A. THESIS, JULY 2021

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Keywords: Intergenerational encounters, Student housing

This thesis focuses on intergenerational encounters concerning housing between landlords and students in Rumeli Hisarüstü, Istanbul. I argue that the nature of the conflict between two groups goes beyond the basic disagreements of the tenantry. The history of the neighborhood and the public image created on student housing shape their encounters and the dynamics of housing. First, I argue that negative stereotypes of elderly landlords and students are formed on moral grounds. Examining how these negative associations are reflected in housing practices, I argue that negative preconceived ideas are the underlying reason for conflicts about housing matters and landlords employ such moral codes to intrude into the private spaces of student apartments, turning housing into a space to encounter differences in an intergenerational context. Later, I move on to a discussion of the housing economy regarding high rents, access to housing, and the physical conditions of the apartments. In this regard, I argue that, as newcomers to Hisarüstü, students face economic vulnerability in the housing market, whereas long-established landlords celebrate their positions as property owners as a success, claiming their place in the city's neoliberal transformation.

ÖZET

HİSARÜSTÜ'NDE KONUT POLİTİKALARI: BİR İSTANBUL MUHİTİNDE KUŞAKLARARASI KARŞILAŞMALAR

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KÜLTÜREL ÇALIŞMALAR YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ, TEMMUZ 2021

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi KRISTEN SARAH BIEHL ÖZTUZCU

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kuşaklararası karşılaşmalar, Öğrenci evleri

Bu tez, İstanbul, Rumeli Hisarüstü'nde ev sahipleri ve öğrenciler arasındaki kuşaklararası karşılamaları konut politikalarına odaklanarak incelemektedir. Bu tezde, iki grup arasındaki anlaşmazlıkların kiracılığın sebep olduğu temel anlaşmazlıklarının ötesine geçtiğini savunuyorum. Mahallenin tarihi ve öğrenci konutları hakkında yaratılan kamusal imaj, bu iki grubun karşılaşmalarını ve konut dinamiklerini şekillendirmektedir. İlk olarak, ev sahipleri ve öğrencilerle ilgili olumsuz klişelerin ahlak çerçevesinde nasıl şekillendiğini açıklıyorum. Daha sonra, bu olumsuz çağrışımların konut politikalarına nasıl yansıdığını inceleyerek, konutla alakalı sorunların temelinde önyargılı fikirlerin yattığını ve ev sahiplerinin ahlaki prensipleri kullanarak öğrenci evlerine ve öğrencilerin özel alanlarına müdahale ederek, öğrenci evlerini kuşaklararası farklılıkların ortaya çıktığı ve belirginleştiği alanlara dönüştürdüklerini savunuyorum. Daha sonra yüksek kiralar, konutlara erişim ve apartmanların fiziki koşullarını göz önüne alarak Hisarüstü'ndeki konut piyasasını inceliyorum. Bu bağlamda, Hisarüstü'ne yeni gelen öğrencilerin konut piyasasında ekonomik olarak kırılgan bir grup oluşturduklarını, mahalleye uzun zaman önce yerleşmiş ev sahiplerinin ise kentin neoliberal dönüşümünde kendilerinin mülk sahibi olarak konumlandırmalarını bir başarı olarak kutladıklarını öne sürüyorum.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Although the list of people who supported me while drafting this thesis is quite long, I would like to thank all of them.

To begin with, I'd want to express my thanks to my advisor, Kristen Biehl, who has always encouraged me and convinced me that I am capable of accomplishing great things and that what I do matters. With heartfelt gratitude, I acknowledge her efforts to guide me and thank her sincerely.

I also would like to thank my beloved friends Berkem, Ilgın and Hazal who always supported me, not only while I was writing this thesis but also in every decision I made. Without their support and encouragement, I would not have been able to accomplish the things that I am most proud of. I am grateful to my dearest friend and my partner in crime, Azra, for her endless support and consolation. She was there every step of the way, ready to cheer me up when I felt terrible and lost. I could not be more grateful for having the perfect friend. And most importantly, I want to thank my beloved Anıl, who has always been an inspiration to me. Without his endless support and encouragement, I could not cope with the stress and anxiety of the process.

I also thank my mother and siblings, who were always there to support me.

I would like to acknowledge and thank the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK), for providing financial support for my masters through the BİDEB 2210 scholarship.

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1. INTRODUCTION

I earned my undergraduate degree from the Department of Western Languages and Literatures which is located at Boğaziçi University's South Campus. As a result, I was naturally required to spend time at Hisarüstü during my studies. Throughout my five years of study, I eventually became acquainted with the community and established a network of friends who also lived in the neighborhood. When I decided that I wanted to rent a place of my own in Hisarüstü and began the search process, my perception of the neighborhood began to change somewhat.

While looking for an apartment at the time, I contacted two real estate agents and a large number of landlords through wall placards, friends, and Facebook messages. Contacting realtors and landlords and perusing run-down houses with excessively high rents for their physical state, I developed a feeling of unease. The majority of apartments I saw lacked adequate air conditioning, bathrooms, and kitchens. Additionally, the majority of them did not enjoy sunshine since they were typically located on the ground floor or below. The real estate agents justified those apartments by saying it was our fault as students for passing up a decent price during 'the season.' The term acceptable 'season' refers to the summer season after the completion of the spring semester and summer school, during which the number of available apartments is much more than during the winter, owing to the high level of student mobility at the end of the semester. As a result, I've gained an appreciation for what students mean to the neighborhood. Otherwise, I had been ignorant of the dynamics between student tenants and landlords at Hisarüstü until this house-hunting process. Previously as a student not living there, I had encountered a few local shopkeepers, but the form of reciprocal communication was notably different when I began searching for housing.

Additionally, the landlords' communication with me and my female friends was always borderline inappropriate. They inquired as to whether we were seeing boys often or whether we intended to welcome them to our house when we leased the apartment. They also asked whether we had parents willing to act as financial

guarantors. In some circumstances, we were told that we did not appear to have come from so-called 'decent families', meaning that we might not meet the landlords' moral standards. And almost every time we encountered such an exchange, the landlord was a middle-aged or older man. At one point, such encounters reached a point of utmost disturbance. After a while, I chose to abandon the idea of moving to Hisarüstü. Then later that year, at the beginning of the summer, I managed to rent an apartment only thanks to a close friend of mine who made all the necessary arrangements and was to be my roommate.

These interactions were so unsettling and discouraging that when I shared my story with friends, others who knew Hisarüstü or lived there responded with similar narratives about the difficulties they encountered when searching for an apartment or dealing with their landlords. Even if they have not personally witnessed an encounter, they shared anecdotes about what they have heard or read through a post about such encounters in the university's closed Facebook group[1]. Therefore, such matters were constantly a topic of conversation during my studies at Boğaziçi University.

When having a similar discussion with my friends about an incident involving their landlords using a spare key to access their apartment without their knowledge or permission, one of my friends mentioned a song written by one of the school bands. As might be expected, the song, called "Landlord from Hisarüstü"[2], was critical and mocking of houseowners' stereotypical attitudes toward students; it was also a statement on behalf of students who endured the same infamous behaviors. At this point, I should mention Hisarüstü in order to depict a better picture. Formally known as the Rumeli Hisarüstü neighborhood in Istanbul's district of Sarıyer, the area is now best known for reserving the Rumeli Hisar fortress and the Boğaziçi University. Since four campuses of Boğaziçi University are situated in the neighborhood, the area has a significant student population.

In addition, it is important to note that the Hisarüstü neighborhood can be defined as a "post-gecekondu" settlement in which one-storey squatter houses have been replaced by multistorey apartment buildings (Çavdar 2016, 512) and is "characterized by densely built, low-quality apartments" (Batuman 2019, 90). Today, the

[1] Boğaziçi University students have a Facebook group with more than ten thousand members. This group is exclusive to the current students and graduates of the university. Anyone interested in becoming a member of this organization must first fulfill certain requirements, which serve as a preventative measure. To avoid strangers to infiltrate the group, prospective members usually send a screenshot of their registration profile captured from the university's official student portal along with a photo of their student ID card. After the documents are authenticated by admins, one is accepted to the group. Since the group is exclusive to the members of the university, students share their ideas and experiences freely. Accordingly, housing is one of the most discussed topics in the group. Students submit messages in this private group in order to seek guidance, discuss their experiences, or warn other members about upcoming events.

[2] *Hisarüstü Ev Sahibi*, song by PADME, 2017.

conditions of the apartment buildings perfectly match these descriptions since most apartments are ill-conditioned and are products of unplanned urbanization. The neighborhood, which was established in the late 1950s as a squatter settlement as a result of rural-to-urban migration (Karpat 2016), can no longer be described as a shanty town due to apartmentization[3] and amelioration of infrastructural problems (Erman 1998, Nalbantoğlu 1997). Still, by acknowledging the history and transformation of the neighborhood, describing the area as a post-gecekondu settlement helps to acknowledge the presence of long-established rural-to-urban migrants and their descendants as the local residents of Hisarüstü.

In relation to this thesis, this group of long-established residents who are now owners of apartment buildings in Hisarüstü constitute one of two groups that I have focused on my research; namely landlords of Hisarüstü. This study started with the assumption that landlords and students oftentimes conflict about housing issues because of the intergenerational differences that dominate their encounters. In this thesis, which I began as a result of my own personal experiences, I argue that the generation gap between the two groups shapes their interactions beyond random negotiations over housing and basic problems of tenantry. Although I am aware of the fact that reasons for conflict between two groups, namely student tenants and landlords, are not limited to intergenerational differences, I believe the generation gap between the two groups is one of the primary determinants of the nature of their relationship. Students who come to study to Boğaziçi University are mostly undergraduate students in their late teens and early twenties. On the other hand, according to participants' accounts and my personal experience, landlords are usually middle aged and older. Therefore, using an intergenerational lens is meaningful, and such an approach is a novelty for studying housing. However, this does not mean that the difference between the two groups is only defined by intergenerational differences. There are also class-based differences, gender-based moralities, and religious beliefs that determine the course of their relationship. Still, while it is relatively practical to define students as young due to their age, the same argument could not be stated easily for their backgrounds. Their upbringing, families, cultural backgrounds, religious beliefs, and financial situation present a mass of variables to consider. Therefore, using an intergenerational lens in this thesis provides me with a relatively unfluctuating framework to interpret the situation; intergenerationality.

Accordingly, I make use of a range of theoretical concepts in order to convey the account of Hisarüstü. Although my research does not dwell on the discussion of

[3]This term is used as an equivalent to the Turkish term 'apartmanlaşma'. The term apartmentization has been used to address the urban changes as older forms of housing are replaced by multi-storey apartment buildings and changing the structure of settlements (Erman and Eken 2004, Marchese 2005, Erman 2019).

gecekondu and urban transformation in relation to that concept, discussions of internal migration with reference to 'gecekondu' and 'urban others' are included in the theoretical framework to understand the unique dynamics that shaped the Hisarüstü neighborhood of today, since such patterns emerged several times in the interviews I conducted.

Since the neighborhood's history reinforces negative stereotypes towards landlords on the basis of long-standing 'threatening others' discussions and using housing as a means to better oneself, a key study on housing and migration in Istanbul is utilized in this study using their research and tying to discussion on intergenerationality. Işık and Pınarcıoğlu's (2012) research on Sultanbeyli illustrates how long-established rural to urban migrants can no longer be defined as urban poor because of apartmentization processes that have taken place but also how they took benefit from newcomers to make their financial gain more prominent (2012). This study is a key reference for this thesis because I argue that the transformation of the urban poor in Hisarüstü has followed a similar path. However, the newcomers in the context of Hisarüstü are students, not the rural to urban migrants who arrive in Istanbul to find employment with the help of their relatives. The student mobility in Hisarüstü, due to Boğaziçi University, makes it possible for landlords to become wealthier thanks to rental income. Therefore, by taking students into account as newcomers, I study the relationship between student tenants and landlords from an intergenerational perspective, since landlords are mostly elderly, long-established residents of the neighborhood, while students are usually young people in their later teens or early twenties.

In alignment with this intergenerational focus, the discussion follows with the studies on intergenerationality and intergenerational space. The concept of intergenerational space is used to address how intergenerational encounters engages with space and spatial arrangements in consideration of intergenerational transmission of ideas and beliefs (Valentine 2015). Accordingly, this study on Hisarüstü suggests that semi-public spaces such as balconies emerge as one the places where we see can see intergenerational conflicts come about between students and landlords. Moreover, the manifestation of intergenerational conflict in relation to housing is deeply associated with the preexisting negative stereotypes driven from the neighborhood's history and the moral principles of landlords. While landlords generally believe that Hisarüstü's young residents are immoral and disrespectful, students believe that landlords are self-seeking and greedy for money because they regard landlords as former gecekondu settlers who are now unjustly well-established landlords of the neighborhood.

Furthermore, There is a lack of research on student housing and students' encounters with their environment in Turkey with the exception of a few studies examining the student communities' effects on financial stability to their environment in Anatolian cities (Sahinli and Kılınç 2014, Selçuk 2012, Torun, Öztürk, and Gelibolu 2009). Therefore, I find merit in involving the discussions on gender-mixed student housing on Turkey since the term kızlı erkekli is used many times by several participants but also landlords used this catchphrase to indicate a degenerate way of living regarding students.

Given this background, I shaped my research around these following questions:

1. How do elderly Hisarüstü residents and Boğaziçi University students experience neighborliness considering their relationship dynamics over housing as tenants and homeowners?

2. What are the main factors that influence older Hisarüstü residents' behavior towards and perception of students and student households? What do homeowners perceive as the advantages and disadvantages of the student community?

3. How are students and residents of the neighborhood experiencing intergenerational space or addressing issues of housing and neighborliness?

To provide responses to these questions, I conducted 18 semi-directed interviews with Boğaziçi University students, recent graduates, and landlords mostly via online tools during the spring of 2021, as the research had to take place during the COVID-19 pandemic. The COVID-19 pandemic was the most important factor that determined the methodological course of my thesis. The health precautions needed to be taken during the physical meeting, also considering curfews and reliance on technological devices during the study time management and arranging venues for meetings proved to be a challenge.

On the basis of all of these, studying Hisarüstü through an intergenerational lens and housing also became appealing when I noted certain gaps in the literature I referenced above. I hope that my research on Hisarüstü would contribute to the discussions on both student housing in Istanbul and the intergenerational encounters literature. Because, urban studies in Istanbul focus on housing in relation to the repercussions of internal migration (Bugra 1998, Erman and Eken 2004), post-gecekondu areas in relation to neoliberal Islamism (Batuman 2019, Çavdar 2016), gated communities and state-led transformation projects (Bartu Candan and Kolluoğlu 2008, Kuyucu and Ünsal 2010, Geniş 2007) in the framework of neoliberalism (Bartu Candan and Özbay 2014). However, those discussions lack an intergenerational perspective. Rather, their emphasis is on how the urban poor is transformed

or replaced through neoliberal policies and urban renewal projects. Therefore, including university students as the newcomers to a post-gecekondu area and analyzing their encounters considering housing dynamics appears as a novelty to study an Istanbul locality.

Moreover, the lack of research on student housing in Turkey encouraged me to continue with this research because student housing has been a topic of discussion in the recent decade. Discourses on gender-mixed student houses, in particular, sparked heated debates and increased surveillance of students' daily lives. This thesis provides an insight to recognize how discourses on student housing affect students' relationships with their landlords and their housing practices with reference to the intergenerational conflict between two parties.

1.1 Outline of This Thesis

In the following chapter, I present the theoretical and methodological context of this study. First, I describe Rumeli Hisarüstü neighborhood's present-day situation, including its engagement with Boğaziçi University compounds to emphasize the student community's significance in the area. Later, I present the history of the neighborhood and how it has been transformed from a squatter settlement, and how this transformation is related to the stereotypes that emerge in intergenerational contact in the present day, as well as to housing dynamics. Further, I describe the intergenerational dimension of this research and how I find merit in reading the relationship between the tenant and the landlord, focusing on the intergenerational dimension of their relationship. This chapter concludes with a detailed account of my fieldwork, which I conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic that impacted the entire world between 2020 and 2021, by using mostly online video conferencing tools.

In the second chapter, I examine the fact that intergenerational disputes in Hisarüstü regarding housing are morality-based. After providing a brief discussion of student housing in the recent decade in Turkey, I argue that intense media coverage, along with political statements on students' lifestyles illustrating them as immoral and improper, have intensified preconceived stereotypes of the youth. In return, the ramifications of extensive media coverage emerge in the participants' narratives as one of the reasons for intergenerational conflict regarding moral principles and housing. Accordingly, I argue that both parties, students and landlords, have stereotypes associated with each other based on such discussions of morality

and the history of the neighborhood. Although morality could be seen as a source of conflict in several contexts, in Hisarüstü, landlords use their moral codes as an excuse to oversee and interfere with students' private spaces. While landlords attempt to exert control by restricting access to housing based on moral judgments, I believe that such conflicts allow us to investigate those points of contact within the context of intergenerational space. As a result, I examine balconies as an example of how intergenerational spaces are created. Lastly, to support my argument that both students and landlords rely on preconceived stereotypical ideas as a source of intergenerational conflict in relation to housing, I demonstrate how landlords see the youth as distant, conceited and immoral to understand how landlords situate themselves in the matters of intrusion to private space and morality.

In the third chapter, I present the housing economy in the Hisarüstü neighborhood. The limited number of apartments that cannot satisfy the demand leads to high rents for students. Therefore, the imbalance of supply-demand enables landlords to be more demanding and intrusive; and this intrusive behavior leads to further conflict. However, by situating the neighborhood as a post-gecekondu settlement, the relationship between tenants and landlords becomes more convoluted. The negative associations driven by the history of neighborhood and morality, in this chapter, could be replaced with the precarity of housing in Hisarüstü since students deal with high rent prices as newcomers to the city, which is examined in the final chapter. Considering that landlords acquired their apartment buildings from one-storey squatters, this information leads to intergenerational encounters on students' part being more unfavorable as they deem landlords as financially driven, and undeserving figures. However, landlords take a different approach. They believe that raising properties from squatter houses is a story of success. Therefore, situating their narrative in a framework of neoliberal transformation and free market, landlords argue that if the free market demands such prices for apartments in Hisarüstü, students need to accept this fact.

2. SETTING THE CONTEXT

This chapter provides an extensive discussion of the contextual and theoretical framework of this thesis, concluding with a sub-section on the methodology. After providing the necessary information about the current state of the neighborhood, I demonstrate why the student population is an integral part of the Hisarüstü community. In the theoretical discussion section, I explain how the neighborhood's history still resonates with my study and how it affects negative stereotypes associated with the locals, and thus the landlords, of Hisarüstü today, after establishing the prominence of the student community in the neighborhood.

Later, discussion follows about student housing and urban studies in Turkey, not only to demonstrate why this study needed to be conducted by using an intergenerational lens but also how employing such an approach sets my study apart regarding this literature. While urban studies mostly examine neoliberal transformations and gentrification from a class perspective, my research looks at housing in an Istanbul neighborhood with a focus on intergenerationality. Furthermore, discussions about student mobility and student housing tend to focus on their demographics, ignoring the student community's encounters and interactions with long-established residents of urban areas.

2.1 About Rumeli Hisarüstü

Hisarüstü is located in Istanbul's Sarıyer district on the European side. It is situated between Baltalimanı and Bebek and is enclosed by Fatih Sultan Mehmet neighborhood, also known as the Armutlu, Etiler, and Bebek neighborhoods. The neighborhood is named after Sultan Mehmet II's construction of the medieval fortress of Rumeli Hisar in 1452 to isolate Constantinople from the Black Sea and deplete the city's resources. Today, the fortress remains intact and is one of the most popular

tourist attractions in the neighborhood.

The neighborhood, which emerged as a squatter settlement in the 1950s, has a unique texture today. Although the neighborhood is no longer referred to as such, its ties to Boğaziçi University played an important role in the area's development, as discussed in the following section.

Thanks to the compounds of Boğaziçi University located in the neighborhood, a large body of students reside in Hisarüstü. Currently, Boğaziçi University has four different compounds scattered throughout Hisarüstü, namely, South Campus, North Campus, Uçaksavar Campus, and Hisar Campus. Three compounds other than Hisar Campus include housing facilities for students and academic members along with faculty buildings and classrooms. South Campus, the oldest compound, has been in use since 1863. It was previously known as Robert College. In 1971, the compound of Robert College and academic staff were turned over to the Turkish Republic to establish a public university, namely, Boğaziçi University. Today, Boğaziçi University has nearly 16.000 students enrolled in total.

Although Boğaziçi University students constitute a large portion of Hisarüstü in residential buildings, the university also has many facilities to accommodate students. The dorms host a large number of students on the university campuses. In total, dormitories under Boğaziçi University offer accommodation to 4.086 students. Nearly 3000 of them live on the campuses in Hisarüstü. In total, there are 7 dormitory buildings on three campuses in Hisarüstü. Moreover, the university has other dormitories on Kilyos and Kandilli campuses, which host the rest. Since dorms for graduate students are located in Kandilli Campus in Usküdar and all preparation students reside in Saritepe Campus in Kilyos, the dormitories in Hisarüstü are in the service of undergraduate students.

Considering the fact that student quotas for Boğaziçi University have been risen dramatically since the early 2000s due to the Council of Higher Education[1] legislation, it is not surprising that university dormitories fail to accommodate all registered students. The number of registered students at Boğaziçi University, for instance, was 11.160 in 2009. In 2019, the number was 15.918. In a ten-year span, the number of students has risen about 5.000, although the number of dormitories remained the same with the exception of Saritepe Campus in Kilyos. The dorms under Boğaziçi University only have the capacity to accommodate one-fourth of all registered students. Therefore, it is expected that students who do not wish to stay in dorms or those who are not granted a place tend to rent a flat in the immediate surround-

[1] *tr.* Yükseköğretim Kurulu

ings of the campus. As a result, Hisarüstü has an abundance of student-rented and shared flats. As the number of such residences increases, they become more contentious in the public eye.

When one examines how the neighborhood's demographics have shifted as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, the presence of students also becomes evident. According to the population census on an address-based population registration system, the total population of people who live in Hisarüstü was 8335 as of 31 December 2020 (TUIK 2021). The total number of households was 4858 and the number of registered working places was noted as 462 in the same census. However, if we look at the numbers of the previous year's census, we encounter radically different numbers. The total population was 10.343 in the census of December 2019, meaning, there has been a population decrease approximately by 20%. Nearly, one-fifth of the total population had left the neighborhood. This change is indicative of the large presence of student residents in the locality, as it can be assumed that the pandemic is the likely cause of this drastic change because of students leaving the neighborhood since Boğaziçi University conducts all of its educational activities online as of April 2020. Looking at the age groups in which the population decreased the most, also supports this point. In the census, we see that the most radical decrease happened in the age category of 20-24. In 2019, there were 2259 people in this age range. However, in 2020, this number was 826 for the same age group. Hence nearly 64% of the people in this range have left their residency status to another neighborhood in 2020. A similar decrease has also happened in the category of 15-19 as the numbers changed approximately by 56%. In other age groups, the change in the numbers was not that drastic. Assuming that those who left the neighborhood during last year were mostly students, I also speculate that the number of students who left the neighborhood because of the pandemic was much higher as seen in the interviews, students mostly stated that they did not change their registered address unless it was necessary. As might be expected, such a decrease in the numbers of students also affected the environment. Many of the participants accounted for the changes that they observed after the students left the neighborhood because of the pandemic, which I will touch upon in the following chapters.

Given that the majority of students fall into the census's age ranges of 15-19 and 20-24, another indicator of Hisarüstü's shifting demographics is the overall population's marital status. It is perfectly reasonable to assume that the majority of university students, especially undergraduates, are single. When we look at the category of non-married in the 2019 census, we see that there were 4779 non-married people living in Hisarüstü, and when we look at the results of 2020, we see that the number has decreased by 40%. The data show that the presence of a student community has

the potential to alter the neighborhood's structure. This is especially noteworthy given that a portion of the student body is not even represented in these censuses due to not being registered at Hisarüstü. These numbers and demographic shifts as a result of the pandemic are not only used as evidence of student prevalence in Hisarüstü, but they also play a prominent role in the participants' narratives. Those numbers are useful in understanding the shifting dynamics in the neighborhood socially and financially as a result of the student presence. Participants candidly said that since students departed the area, both landlords and local shopkeepers have encountered financial difficulties as a result of the shifting social structure. Given the fact that students no longer dominate the neighborhood's social scene, participants emphasized how Hisarüstü seems desolate, with its vacant streets falling into silence. Again, this drastic change in the number of students indicates the dominance of student presence in the neighbourhood.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Internal Migration in Turkey; the "Gecekondu" Phenomenon and the Birth of Rumeli Hisarüstü Neighborhood

Previously being an uncultivated land, in the late 1950s, Hisarüstü emerged as a squatter settlement established by the growing flows of rural to urban migrants arriving in Istanbul in this period. Internal migration from rural to urban areas started becoming a customary phenomenon over the following decades, provoked by agricultural reform and mechanization as push factors on the one hand, and urban industrialization and governments' developmental plans in cities on the other, with Istanbul having the most recipients among all other cities (Tas and Lightfoot 2005, Gedik 1992). Upon arrival though, migrants were confronted with high rents and sought a solution in squatter settlements (Karpat 2016). Therefore, those newcomers found themselves on the outskirts of the city and building squatter houses, with these areas being described in Turkish as gecekondu settlements, meaning literally 'built over night'. According to Buğra, the percentage of people living in irregular settlements, or in low-income gecekondus, had gone from 45% percent in 1965 to 70% in the 1980s (1998). As such, the newly founded gecekondu neighborhoods accommodated the majority of new migrant arrivals to the city, Hisarüstü being one of them. In fact, one of Turkey's leading scholars of gecekondu studies, Kemal Karpat, investigates Turkey's internal migration and urbanization challenge through his extensive field research on Hisarüstü in his 1976 book *The Gecekondu: Rural Mi-*

gration and Urbanization where he examines how squatter settlements have emerged in Istanbul, and how people living in those squatter households formed communities in those areas.

In the early days of its establishment, the area known as Hisarüstü today was called the Nafibaba district. Karpat dates this recount to the early 1950s (2016, 120). People who worked in nearby areas began to build squatter houses in the hills of Nafibaba because housing opportunities were scarce and expensive near the coastal areas of Baltalimanı and Bebek. Those who built the first houses were blue-collar workers who commuted to the shipyard at Istinye, to pharmaceutical plants, and to electronic device factories in Levent, as well as domestic laborers who served in the houses in Bebek and Baltalimanı.

Even though the number is very limited, people working in the Robert College, the former name of Bogazici University, were also among the first residents of the neighborhood. According to Karpat, this smaller group of Robert College workers were the first ones who took the initiative to expand the neighborhood on this hill since they received relatively low wages compared to the other employees of the college due to their need for cheap housing facilities close to the college campus. However, their initiative to build more houses caused some eyebrows to rise because of the claims to land. It was common practice in squatter house settlements for the first arrivals to sweep a piece of land and claim their owners' rights to it, even if the land was empty (Keyder 2000, 120). Therefore, even though there were still empty lands appropriate for construction since the land is already claimed, there were some arguments about the ownership of the land. Challenging the 'first comes, first served' principle, those workers from the college demanded that they should have more rights to those lands to expand. After some debates, which Karpat details in his narrative, they agreed to pay a reasonable price to allegedly buy some land from the first comers and immediately build nearly 30 houses in two days. From that point on, the expansion of Hisarüstü gained a pivotal speed. Especially through kinship networks, the number of houses started to increase rapidly. People who were able to build a squatter house in the area contacted their relatives in different parts of Anatolia and helped them to arrive at Hisarüstü and build their houses or offer them a room if possible (Ayata 1991). These "hemşehri networks"[2] (Erman 1998, 545) are significant because, as I have witnessed in the interviews, these kinship networks among homeowners in Hisarüstü are still intact today, which I will discuss in the following chapters.

Moreover, according to Heper, the majority of people living in the Hisarüstü neigh-

[2] *tr. hemşehri*: meaning fellow townsman

borhood owned their houses (1978). It is estimated that in 1978, almost 90% of all residents had built their own houses and were living there still (Heper 1978). Regardless, thinking about the contemporary dynamics of the neighborhood, as far as I have encountered and listened to from my research participants, the majority of Hisarüstü residents, except Boğaziçi University students and their families, own at least one apartment in the neighborhood which mostly they inherited from their families who built gecekondus in the early days of settlements. Because of Özal governments' gecekondu amnesties in accordance with the neo-liberal policies introduced in the 1980s, the construction of apartment buildings was permitted to replace gecekondus (Keyder 2000, Erman and Eken 2004). According to participants' accounts, such a transformation in the urban structure was happening until the mid-1990s in Hisarüstü. Therefore, it is possible to say that even though the roots of Hisarüstü stem from the gecekondus and rural migrations movement, the structure of the neighborhood radically shifted in recent decades. Today, the descendants of those who built the first structures in the neighborhood own multiple apartments in the neighborhood which they rent to finance themselves, while the existing student community in Hisarüstü provides those homeowners a suitable market and creates demand for their rentals.

Student tenants whom I met have a tendency to describe their landlords as cunning, malevolent, and unfitting people who somehow made it in the city but still lack a proper code of behavior when it comes to social interactions. I assume that Hisarüstü's history as a gecekondu neighborhood has played a role in perpetuating such stereotypes. Due to the lengthy association of two concepts, cultural other and gecekondu (Erman and Eken 2004), in popular imagination and academia, homeowners who acquired their properties primarily through their early squatter houses could still be viewed as cultural others to a degree. This is noteworthy since my study revealed comparable othering of landlords by students in relation to gecekondu. Students' negative associations with landlords as financially driven, selfish, and narrow-minded stems from the neighborhood's story as gecekondu were associated with negative characteristics. Even though such associations are no longer in the focus of scholarly research, my research has shown that such connotations still have a place in daily conversations. As a result, comprehending the neighborhood's history and the foundation is critical for comprehending the dynamics of intergenerational interactions between students and homeowners because such encounters, even today, are profoundly influenced and formed by preexisting stereotypical concepts.

Today, Hisarüstü no longer is referred to as a squatter's settlement due to its transformation over the years. Therefore, describing the neighborhood as a post-gecekondu settlement would be a more purposeful considering transformation (Çav-

dar 2016). At the same time, this history should not be disregarded as it reflects past survival mechanisms of rural immigrants (Nalbantoğlu 1997). As Batuman highlights, "the early squatters transformed into a new type of petty bourgeoisie, the latecomers comprised a new urban proletariat chained to the landlords with whom they shared the same habitat" (Batuman 2019, 65). And in this case, I would argue that the latecomer group is comprised of university students. However, different from these studies, the high student mobility thanks to new arriving student cycles every year, the system that has been created in Hisarüstü does not allow newcomers to be established members of the community.

With the exception of few recent studies on gecekondu neighborhoods (Sentürk 2016), the topic is also no longer a heated debate as it was two decades ago. Today, urban studies regarding İstanbul are mostly concentrated on gentrification and the neoliberal transformation of the city. Gated communities, spatial segregation in the city, and the relocation of the urban poor to the periphery of Istanbul as a consequence of neoliberal urban policies characterize the features of Istanbul's urban studies along with the discussions of gender and corporeal dynamics in the urban space (Bartu Candan and Özbay 2014). Such discussion with an emphasis on urban renewal or urban transformation mostly discusses how city's segregation is becoming more strict and tense with newly emerging spaces of wealth and poverty (Bartu Candan and Kolluoğlu 2008, Işık and Pınarcıoğlu 2012). However, such studies focusing on Istanbul's neoliberal transformation and gentrification often examine the subject from a perspective focusing on class difference through terms like 'relocation of poverty' (Kuyucu and Ünsal 2010) or 'urban transformation/regeneration' , or 'new elite' (Enlil 2011) are used most analyzing the subject (Lovering and Türkmen 2011, Can 2013).

Similarly, Işık and Pınarcıoğlu's study on Sultanbeyli also focuses on urban poverty but their take on the case is different from the approaches mentioned above (2012). Işık and Pınarcıoğlu analyze how urban poor of the former squatter settlements have feathered their own nests thanks to rapid urban transformation and apartmentization. Although their examination of how the urban poor, mostly consisting of internal migrants, work their way up to the middle class is crucial for my study to understand how former gecekondu settlements affects the current residents but also the housing market in these areas, I need to note that Işık and Pınarcıoğlu's study dates to 1998. While this study appears to be a little out of date, it is important since it demonstrates how the urban poor in Sultanbeyli employ various strategies to overcome poverty. Despite the fact that the study is not the most recent, it provides a fundamental understanding of housing and the vulnerabilities of newcomers in urban areas. It has also been used as a basis for a more recent study on migration and

the cycles of social exclusion regarding Syrian refugees in Turkey (Tümtaş 2020).

The term "poverty in turn"[3] refers to “the strategy used by the squatters to overcome poverty by finding flaws of the system, both acting with solidarity and crushing down one another on the basis of their identity of taking advantage of local sources to enhance their welfare and overcome poverty” (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu 2012, 336). They demonstrate how early settlers of the neighborhood take advantage of the latecomers by using community networks, and in what ways this exploitation occurs through housing market and showing the pyramid-like social structure, of which at the bottom resides the latecomers. Similarly, as a post-gecekondu settlement today, Hisarüstü’s older residents now become landlords and no longer can be considered urban poor because of the rent incomes depending on apartmentization processes (Çavdar 2016).

However, in the case of Hisarüstü, newcomers to the settlements are not internal migrants who can be considered urban poor or “new ‘marginal’ workers of the labor market... ready to take the poverty shift" (Senyapılı 2004, 34). Rather, they are students. Therefore, my study focuses on the intergenerational dimension in relation to the housing market rather than a class difference. I do not argue that students are a substitute for the urban poor in this context even though they are economically vulnerable in the neighborhood’s housing market; rather I argue that landlords maintain their financial security thanks to the newcomers of the Hisarüstü.

Moreover, in Işık and Pınarcıoğlu’s study, they criticize that in the field of urban studies such informal constructions are limited to discussions of ‘immorality’, referencing Buğra’s study “The Immoral Economy of Housing in Turkey” (1998), or the discourse that they are ‘constructed out of city planning and redevelopment law”, emphasizing their informality (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu 2012, 178). Rather, they argue that such informal settlements reflect that there is a larger decadence in the collapse of formal structures and using terms like moral or immoral reduce the complexity of such places and communities but also cause to develop a negative attitude (177,178). Accordingly, even though the concept of the moral economy has been widely used to "evaluate the distinctive social and political features of various systems of exchange" (Arnold 2001, 85) especially since Thompson’s (1971) and Scott’s (1977) acclaimed studies, for the purposes of this thesis I focus on a different understanding of the term in relation to housing economy when I discuss financial aspects of housing in Hisarüstü in relation to gendered morality of the neighborhood residents.

[3] Although several translations can be found for the Turkish term ’nöbetleşe yoksulluk’ such as "rotating poverty" (Secor 2004) and “cycles of poverty” (Senyapılı 2004), I prefer to use “poverty in turn” since Işık and Pınarcıoğlu have used this translation in their another co-authored article (2008).

The concept of moral economy has been employed in the field of anthropology for the last two decades as taking "economy not as the object of analysis, but simply as a metaphor for 'the production, distribution, circulation, and use of moral sentiments, emotions and values, and norms and obligations in social space'" (Alexander, Bruun, and Koch 2018, 123). Therefore, rather than directly using the term moral economy, by embracing a similar attitude to that of Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2012), in the second chapter, I use the concept of morality and demonstrate how it shapes the relationship between tenants and landlords in Hisarüstü since my object of the study it is the relationship between students and their landlords.

2.2.2 Intergenerationality and Spaces of Intergenerational Encounter

While stereotypes rooted in Hisarüstü's historical background as a gecekondu settlement may influence the interaction between students and homeowners today, several more factors contribute to the interaction between generations. This research began with the assertion that, while the student population is the younger counterpart to landlord-tenant interactions, the majority of homeowners are elderly. As evidence for this claim, the youngest landlord mentioned by participants or who took part in the study was reported to be in their early fifties. On the other hand, most student participants are in their early twenties. To understand how their age difference may affect their relationship, it is vital to grasp how intergenerational interactions are formed by diverse activities, discourses, and values.

To shed light on how the interaction between younger and older members of communities is being reconstrued by cultural, social, and economic affairs, understanding the nature of 'intergenerational practice' is a fundamental necessity (Moore and Statham 2006). The interactions between younger and older people in modern culture are considered a potential source of conflict between different generations in a series of different contexts whether it is households, workplaces, public spheres, and even the consumer market (Zemke, Raines, and Filipczak 2000, Lancaster and Stillman 2009). Although it is universally recognized in the literature that generational differences are a source of tension in various contexts such as living spaces, academic spheres, working places and public urban areas, the cause of such conflict is not necessarily the same (Tolbize 2008, Kaifi et al. 2012, Mohr and Mohr 2017, Gardner 2011). For the purposes of this study, I claim that the relationship between tenants and house owners could be a place where we can see such intergenerational conflict. Particularly if the occupant is a member of the student population and the landlord is an older member of society, there might be differences between the two

parties due to the fact that the principles, collection of ideals, and daily activities of two generations are distinct. Therefore, the relationship between tenants and homeowners could be another cause of such conflict.

One of the first scholars to conceptualize the idea of generations was Karl Mannheim. Mannheim's essay "The Problem of Generations"[4] is generally considered the most systemic and elaborate discussion of its period on generations (Bengtson, Furlong, and Laufer 1974). As Pilcher claims, "the way in which Mannheim [...] used 'generation' is really in the sense of 'cohort'" (1994, 483) rather than an implication of kinship. Therefore, since cohort refers to "a group of persons sharing a particular statistical or demographic characteristic" (dictionary.com 2021), Mannheim's theorization allows later studies to employ generations as a unit of analysis, not only in the context of familial relations but in any domain of social change.

Accordingly, early studies in the field of intergenerational relations date back to the mid-1960s following Manheim's theorization. First emerging under the discipline of social policy in North America, the term "generation gap" was the common phrase in studies referring to the growth of derogatory assumptions towards older people and to the increasing detachment between the elderly and the rest of society until the late 90s (Sánchez 2007, Friedenberg 1969). Since 'generation gap' mostly refers to "problems of generations" and "social structures of differences between generations" (Bengtson 1970, 7); it refers to negatively associated social dynamics based on generational disparities (Lauer 1973). However, intergenerational encounters do not necessarily connote negative outcomes. Therefore, the term has been replaced with 'intergenerational relations' which refers to a more neutral field of discussion and the fields' existence has been legitimized with a journal. In 2003, in the introductory message for the first issue of Journal of Intergenerational Relations, editor Sally Newman describes intergenerational studies as an emerging field and asserts the mission of the journal as to generate "dialogue on the intergenerational aspect of a range of global social issues" (2003, 2) in accordance with the field's focus on understanding intergenerational negotiations and encounters. Similarly, although my study in Hisarüstü was motivated initially by housing problems, I take an intergenerational lens to examine the various kinds of interactions between students and landlords and understand how they negotiate the shared use of spaces and daily encounters. Therefore, to not solely focus on negative outcomes, I avoid terms like 'generations gap' even in cases where a conflict is evident between students and houseowners. Rather, I try to focus on how they manage their interactions and what are the main concerns that drive them to behave in certain ways.

[4]First published in 1923, translated into English in 1952.

Although intergenerational studies is a relatively recently developed field, studies on the transmission of a culture intergenerationally, among older and younger people, constitute a significant place in the field of cultural anthropology. Margaret Mead's Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap (1970) offers a cross-cultural examination between parents and children looking for the probable reasons for "the turmoil of generational conflict" (Mead 1970, 32). Although Mead mostly engages with the negative associations of the generation gap, her study opens up new possibilities for diversity studies since her examination is not only limited to the realm of family and kinship, but Mead considers racial or ethnic differences as a variable in intergenerational conflicts (Mead, 32). Even though Mead's work has been criticized as an oversimplification of intergenerational conflict, her take on the different angles of intergenerational relations along with familial matters, sets a precedent for the later studies.

The turn in social sciences to recognize intergenerational relations and transmission has come to the light in parallel to growing discussions around urbanization in the 1990s. As Beard (2012) argues, this can be associated with two parallel trends, which is that a larger part of the world's population has started living in urban areas and the total percentage of individuals who are older than 65 has started outnumbering children younger than age five (Beard et al. 2012). Thus, urbanization and global population ageing have become a major attraction in the social sciences at the turn of the century. Therefore, such major demographic shifts are scrutinized by scholars, and inevitably, the nature of the interactions of different generations has become a major concern as well.

Along with such discussions on intergenerational encounters and urbanization, the term 'intergenerational space' is employed to address intergenerational dimensions in the urban space. The term intergenerational space engages in space and spatial arrangements to uncover how intergenerational encounters are constrained or promoted and which mechanisms and areas affect challenges or interdependency between generations. Vanderbeck and Worth (2015) describe the intergenerational space as "spaces of intergenerational transmission, contestation, and negotiation [...] are related to how values, beliefs, and ideas circulate amongst and between generations" (30). Therefore, I believe, examining the relationships between students and landlords in Hisarüstü and understanding how their intergenerational transmission takes place in relation to housing, the concept of intergenerational space stands instead. Since this study examines how two groups interact with each other through an intergenerational lens, housing becomes a focal point for observing this relationship. Although in existing literature, the studies on intergenerational space mostly concentrate on spaces such as parks, playgrounds, and public transportation (Biggs

and Carr 2015), university campuses (Vrkljan et al. 2019), and even families (Tarrant 2015); housing is not examined as one of such place. Nevertheless, student housing emerges as a complex matter at the intersection of several variables in this study. I examine student housing through the lens of intergenerationality, focusing on how intergenerational stereotypes and conflicts shape the dynamics of housing and create a space for intergenerational negotiation.

Accordingly, the nature of such transmissions can be antagonistic or favorable reproducing and reinforcing existing stereotypes and biases among groups. In relation to encounters that taken place in intergenerational spaces; studies have shown that intergenerational bias can affect both younger generations and older ones, generally referring to senior citizens with the discussions of ageism (Ayalon and Tesch-Römer 2018). In alignment with that, in the "Living with Difference" survey conducted in 2012, it is "found that the over-65 generation has less positive attitudes towards a wide range of social groups (homeless; lesbians and gay men; Muslim people; black people; refugees and asylum seekers; and transsexual people)" (Valentine 2015, 197). On the other hand, older citizens also face stereotypes “including being unhealthy, asexual, ugly, cognitively impaired, useless, isolated, lonely, poor, and depressed” (Fletcher 2007, 7). The relationship between age and wisdom has reversed, as it was considered that older people were much wiser, especially in agrarian communities, due to rapid urbanization and co-existence patterns in industrial cities, older citizens have begun to be associated with unfavorable stereotypes (McHugh 2003). Likewise, older generations hold that younger generations are stubborn, undisciplined, and devoid of virtue (Valentine 2015, 208).

Accordingly, in my study in Hisarüstü, I found that similar stereotypes associated with both older and younger generations affect the relationship between students and houseowners, and thereby, directly affect housing practices. To understand how preexisting stereotypes and categories shape intergenerational encounters between those two parties, it is crucial to understand which moral standards are embraced by those people. Because in most cases, it is easy to see how ethical principles and a deemed appropriate code of conduct could lead to a conflict between tenants and landlords. Therefore, understanding which types of stereotypes are associated with each generation helps to understand how tenants or houseowners position themselves in their interactions with the other party.

2.2.3 Student Housing

Although it is known that students make positive contributions to the communities they are positioned in (Kondakci, Bedenlier, and Zawacki-Richter 2018), the dynamism they cause in the housing market could be one of the most prominent elements of their significant addition. The effects of off-campus student housing are mostly studied in relation to the term 'studentification' (Smith 2004). Studentification refers to "the process by which students become concentrated in particular neighborhoods, and the attendant social, cultural, economic, and physical changes to urban areas" (Revington et al. 2020, 189). Even though the term seems to be associated with all urban and student-related matters by definition, the use of the term is highly limited to the discussions of gentrification and migration especially in the United Kingdom (Sage, Evandrou, and Falkingham 2013, Munro and Livingston 2012, Smith and Holt 2007, Smith 2008). Munro and Livingston explain this association of student communities with gentrification "as with gentrification, the new population could only be accommodated by displacement of existing populations, in this case by students" (Munro and Livingston 2012, 1685). Therefore it could be said that the focus was on "feelings of dispossession and displacement of established local residents" (Sage, Smith, and Hubbard 2013, 2623) and the changing demographics of the urban spaces rather than internal dynamics of the student community and the nature of relations between students and the local community.

However, the studies conducted on student housing in Turkey do not follow such tendency to associate gentrification and urban transformation with the student community. Rather, studies focus on how student communities, and therefore universities by implication, transform the economy of Anatolian cities and how they contribute to the financial sustainability of small and medium-sized local enterprises (Güçüş 2017, Berberoğlu and Ardıç 2017, Korkmaz 2013). Furthermore, a few studies examining students' housing concerns using survey data from university students demonstrate how gendered housing preferences are, indicating that female students face greater financial insecurity, family engagement, and parental pressure than male students (Sahinli and Kılınç 2014).

While studies on student communities and housing on the scale of Anatolian cities can be found, the lack of research in Istanbul is almost impossible to overlook given that there are 57 universities in the city as of 2021 (YOK 2021). Thus, given Istanbul's enormous student population, the scarcity of research on how student housing affects urban activities and changes has become increasingly intriguing. But also, for this very reason, I believe my study offers a perspective to the student community and housing in an Istanbul locality even though the scope of this research

is limited to the Hisarüstü neighborhood.

As for locating housing matters into the core of this research, Biehl's research on Kumkapi district of Istanbul examines housing as a notion of encountering differences as "availability, quality, and use of domestic living spaces" enables one to see how differences are manifested and to recognize diversity (Biehl 2015, 597). Although Biehl's study focuses on the diversity of migrant populations and differences in their experiences of housing, my research focuses on intergenerational differences by taking student housing as a central domain for the encounters of students and landlords.

In addition to taking housing as the focal point to examine the differences, the concept of semi-public space emerges as a key concept for this thesis. In relation to semi-public spaces, Wessendorf argues that "while the public realm is the world in streets, parks, public transport or commercial spaces where one meets strangers, the parochial realm is characterized by more communal relations among neighbors, with colleagues in the workplace, or acquaintances through associations or schools; importantly, the boundaries between these realms are fluid." (Wessendorf 2014, 393) Referring to those semi-public realms as parochial, she emphasizes that such spaces are associated with a sense of familiarity as well as limited accessibility. I think balconies could be included in this category because they are not accessible from outside as they are private parts of the houses, but also, they are open to the public gaze and can be watched from afar and also in this way they blur the lines between public and private. As balconies occupy an important place in the narratives of the participants, I have felt obliged to include balconies into my discussion even though the term semi-public spaces mostly used in diversity and migration studies. I believe the possibility of the encounters that the semi-public spaces provide encouraged different groups to interact with one another (Amin and Thrift 2002, Peterson 2017). Therefore, along with difference that is described on the basis of ethnicity, gender or race could be also redefined on the basis intergenerationality.

In relation to housing and living spaces, semi-public spaces emerge where we can see the intergenerational disputes and differences most clearly. Balconies are one of the most notable instances in this study in which one can see how direct intergenerational contact leads to conflict between landlords and students. Although the use of balconies is restricted to residents of an apartment, the exposure of the space allows encounters with one's environment. In this study, I argue that balconies as a traditional part of Turkish households function as a semi-public space for students and landlords to interact.

2.3 Methodology

After reflecting on various events and encounters, as well as discussions with fellow researchers and professors who had also been students at Boğaziçi University, I decided that the focus of my thesis research would be Hisarüstü district specifically and encounters between local landlords who are local to Hisarüstü and Boğaziçi University students. However, the timing of my field research coincided with a global pandemic, which presented a significant challenge ahead of carrying out the methods I originally anticipated for this research.

Since the end of 2019, the COVID-19 pandemic, also known as the coronavirus pandemic, has been transforming the environment and profoundly disrupting our everyday lives[5]. To this day, regulations and curfews have been constantly changing in response to the number of coronavirus infections, ensuring that confusion will continue to be a part of our everyday lives indefinitely. Inevitably, as a result of such abrupt and radical decisions as curfews, I recognized immediately that the pandemic would have an impact on the nature of my research as it will affect us for an extended period of time, along with measures to limit our daily interactions. As a result, I needed to devise alternative methods to conduct my research in such an uncertain setting instead of practices such as participant observation in the community and participation in meetings of Hisarüstü residents discussing their residential or neighborhood-related problems.

As a consequence, the first decision I made was to conduct interviews through video conferencing tools such as Zoom or Skype whenever possible. I only used Skype once at a participant's request. I took advantage of Zoom for all the remaining online interviews, asking for permission from the participants for its recording feature if they agreed.

In total, I conducted 18 interviews with mostly students, landlords, and realtors working in the neighborhood. I am not restraining real estate agents since some of them pursue such a profession not legally but as a side hustle of convenience. 14 of those interviews were held online, while the rest were conducted as one-to-one

[5] After the coronavirus and the initial plague were identified in China in December 2019, the epidemic quickly spread across the world, and the World Health Organization declared the coronavirus plague a pandemic in March 2020. Following a few days of the declaration, the Turkish government agreed to implement closure measures, despite the fact that coronavirus cases could be counted on one side. Closing steps included suspending the indoor operations of small business traders and limiting the ability and hours of operation of public transit vehicles, thus limiting inner-city accessibility and movement. On March 21, officials declared the country's first-ever absolute curfew and placed age limits on people over the age of 65. Soon after, similar to the ministry of national education's decision on primary education institutions, the Council of Higher Education declared that universities would suspend physical education until further notice. Following a pause, it was determined that universities should conduct their instructional operations online.

physical meetings. The total number of students interviewed is 12 and the rest of the participants constitute a mixed group, since some landlords also function as realtors, their total number of interviews is 6. Although my initial goal was to conduct interviews with more real estate agents at Hisarüstü, two real estate agents I contacted declined to participate in my study.

I began conducting interviews with two of my friends who remain residents of Hisarüstü and are currently enrolled as students at Boğaziçi University. Although I am acquainted with a large number of residents in the neighborhood, I have asked these two friends to function as my gatekeepers. I asked them politely to refer me to their friends and neighbors who met the criterion. For applicants, the interview requirement was that they have lived on campus for at least a year in an apartment over the preceding five years. The aim of this criteria is to ensure that interviewees are acquainted with their community and the recent patterns of daily experiences, as well as the housing market. Additionally, I approached landlords in a similar manner. I have asked my participants whether they can arrange a meeting for me with their current house owners.

If I had to reflect on the interview process, I would say that, aside from the conversations with students, trying to arrange meetings with landlords and realtors was difficult. They were hesitant to share their experiences when I informed them that I would be inquiring about their interactions with students and tenants, as well as their assets in the neighborhood. Along with the reluctance, there were also logistical problems with these two groups. Since students are more acquainted with online meeting tools than tenants or realtors, scheduling meetings and discussing the meeting's format and logistics were significantly easier than with the other two groups. Even still, they were not very eager to share their experiences unless it was a physical meeting, and in some cases, they even directly rejected me outright by saying that physically meeting with me is dangerous due to the pandemic, but they did not wish to conduct an online interview either.

However, with house owners unfamiliar with digital communication tools, two of those who agreed to interview got help from their relatives to set up the necessary tools. Moreover, I managed to conduct four physical interviews with houseowners during April and May regarding the health restrictions and safety measurements. I met my two participants in a park in Hisarüstü, where the older population of the neighborhood likes to spend time. For the other two of my meetings, I used outdoor tables of a local establishment. Nonetheless, when curfews and closing measurements for small businesses such as cafes changed suddenly, my plans changed in response, disrupting all of my previously scheduled efforts. During the course of fieldwork,

several appointments have been canceled on the excuse of the COVID-19 pandemic and curfews.

Therefore, while conducting those interviews, I also dealt with the anxiety stemming from such uncertainty. Operating from a computer and trying to be involved in these people's experiences created a sense of uneasiness. There were many moments when I felt alone and disconnected from the atmosphere I was attempting to depict. Additionally, I was well aware of the constraints inherent in utilizing online interviews as the main method of inquiry for the duration of the research along with possible technical problems (James and Busher 2006, Kivits 2005). Poor internet connections and the poor state of technical equipment such as microphones and web cameras impacted the tone of the interviews, disrupting the flow of the conversation and causing both sides to lose enthusiasm.

Additionally, I'd like to add a few comments on how my own experiences and familiarity with the neighborhood may have impacted my study. Since I was a student at Boğaziçi University and also lived in the neighborhood for several years, inevitably, I may have associated myself with students. As a researcher who is aware of this fact, I feel compelled to bring it out for assessing the objectivity of this research. However, since I was aware of this situation throughout the research process, rather than identifying with a particular group, I utilized similar experiences and my knowledge of the neighborhood and the community to initiate and deepen the conversation during interviews.

Still, my background helped me to build trust with my student participants. Our conversations during the interviews were made easier by our experiences in the neighborhood and at the university. However, with landlords, my experience was different from that with students. More often than not, landlords recognized me as a student living in the area. While they were addressing students, they used the pronoun 'you' indicating that they considered me as a student still. I felt like my identity as a former Boğaziçi student overshadowed my status as a researcher. Moreover, although I cannot say that being young and female also led to certain disputes and obstacles, my experience in some interviews I felt it averted my ability to build trust and a healthy conversation. In some instances, I have encountered reactions pointing out my youth and sex such as "she was a little girl just like you"[6], comparing me with another person on the basis of my youth and sex. Since interactions like this encounter could affect the way in which data is gathered, I believe it is necessary to point out that while talking with landlords I encountered such responses a few times.

[6] "O da senin gibi ufak tefek bir kızdı böyle." (Male, 57)

However, despite all these limitations, I managed to complete my study successfully. Thanks to my participants' meaningful insights and their willingness to share firsthand experiences, I gathered enough materials to produce this thesis. Through the interviews I conducted, I acquired an insight into the current nature of intergenerational relationships in the neighborhood. Moreover, it is important to note my familiarity with the neighborhood and the existing network of friends who still live in Hisarüstü, I managed to conduct this fieldwork in spite of the pandemic. I believe that a newcomer to the neighborhood could not succeed in a similar attempt because of the limited access to public places and the decrease in the number of students due to the pandemic.

2.3.1 Limitations and Further Research

The subject and theoretical approach of this thesis have limitations. To address those limitations would benefit future researchers who wish to engage in further research.

This thesis mostly focuses on the narratives of students and the landlords, while the locals of Hisarüstü are underrepresented due to the small number of participants. Furthermore, locals who do not own property in the neighborhood are excluded entirely. I did not conduct interviews to involve and represent all the diverse groups in the neighborhood regarding their interactions with students and how their housing conditions are affected by the dynamics between the student community and property owners.

Furthermore, due to the lack of research on how students contribute to the diversity of urban places, this thesis does not benefit from any direct area of study or grand social theory focusing on the student community or student housing. The lack of research on the matter was a challenge for me to base my research on the theoretical ground. Therefore, I tried to combine key terms that I deemed relevant to migration, intergenerational and diversity studies by taking the neighbourhood's history into consideration.

Moreover, since the pandemic and online education seem to reconstruct the housing dynamics in the neighborhood, further research to understand those dynamics and the outcomes of pandemics should be conducted as this research does not provide an extensive discussion on how the COVID-19 altered the housing dynamics.

3. STUDENTS, HOUSING AND MORALITY: EXPLORING THE CAUSES OF THE CONFLICT

This first analysis chapter of this study focuses on how morality shapes intergenerational encounters and stereotypes in relation to the housing economy in Hisarüstü. This chapter demonstrates that moral codes, stereotypical associations, and financial housing matters are highly intertwined, shaping the course of intergenerational encounters between landlords and student tenants by providing narratives of morality based intergenerational disputes. Although pointing out morality as a source of intergenerational conflict is not a novelty (Gardiner 2006, Lomax 2015), what is unique in the case of Hisarüstü is that landlords try to exert power control through controlling access to housing and rent prices.

I try to show that the relationship between the landlord and the student tenants is shaped by their difference in age, but also such an age difference leads different stereotypes to emerge in their relationship. While students are frequently associated with immoral behavior as their public behaviour is often considered as inappropriate, landlords emerge as financially motivated, self-seeking agents. Most of the time, such stereotypical associations are directly driven by the history of the neighbourhood. Although Hisarüstü is no longer classified as a squatter settlement, students continue to use this narrative to justify the association of negative qualities with landlords. Despite the fact that students have no recollection of Hisarüstü's early days, the gecekondu narrative is incorporated into their description of the landlords and the neighborhood.

Moreover, students are concerned that landlords try to interfere with the personal spaces of students, such as surveilling them from their balconies, limiting and interfering with their visitors, and criticizing them for their inappropriate behaviors. As a result of all of this, I suggest that Hisarüstü has developed into a place of intergenerational conflict, with residents continuously negotiating the past and the present over housing issues.

3.1 Politics of Student Housing in Turkey

Before examining the relationships in Hisarüstü between homeowners and students, it is important to also mention briefly some of the recent national discourses and policies having a bearing on the local dynamics of Hisarüstü. In the last decade, student housing has been a matter of public debate. Thus, the contentious nature of student housing may be understood if we first comprehend the impact of Justice and Development Party's[1] gender and youth policies on citizens to understand how these discourses are to be seen in the discussions of participants and how it affects their understanding of morality.

In 2013, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the country's prime minister at the time, made a statement that kızlı erkekli evler, referring to gender-mixed student houses, should not be allowed ("Kızlı erkekli aynı evde kalıyorlar," 2013). Following that, the debate over student housing became extremely popular in the news and on social media, and Erdoğan's expression of kızlı erkekli became a tagline, directly referring to student houses. Students' issues in relation to housing and neighborliness have become worse as a result of widespread media coverage of gender-mixed student housing and the potential ramifications of such accommodation style. Neighbors sharing the same apartment buildings with students began reporting students to law enforcement officials, claiming that student houses disturb family households by making loud noises, by consuming excessive amounts of alcohol, and by setting harmful precedents for children in the apartments as gender-mixed student houses are associated with being immoral and promiscuous (Arsan and Tolunay İşler 2016).

Not only did neighbors start to report students, but also the police and the office of governorship started to interfere with student houses in some cities with no legal basis, and even in some cases there were monetary punishments issued to students by the police ("Kızlı erkekli eve ilk ceza kesildi," 2013). Such events, sparked by the Prime Minister's statement, had a wide-reaching impact on the press, and government officials were required to intervene to put an end to interminable discussions. Although government officials claimed that the fine was issued because students were noisy and disturbing other residents in their apartment buildings, later it was revealed that police officers who issued the fine had questioned the students about their living conditions and whether they shared the same space with the opposite sex. While such incidents have grown in popularity, the police and community have increased their surveillance of students' homes. In some cities, even governors stated

[1] *tr.* Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi

that students are a danger to the community's sense of peace and therefore they should be closely watched and if they need to, they should "go into every student apartment" ("Denizli'nin derdi kızlı erkekli apart," 2014) to guarantee the wellbeing of the people.

Not only did the police and governor's office intervene in students' residential lives, but some landlords placed sanctions on students following the discussions about the students' lifestyle. Due to the media depiction of students as dangerous, mischievous, and immoral, as well as critical statements by government officials, some landlords raised the rent to the point where some students were forced to vacate their apartments (Kızılkoyun 2013). Additionally, in the news coverage of students' rent cases, it was also reported that, in addition to students, single people also suffered significant persecutions from landlords.

These are significant because, in the interviews I conducted, the phrase kızlı erkekli was one of the most frequently used terms to describe the students' lifestyles or perceptions of their neighborhood. Thus, I consider that debates on gender-mixed students housing and students' lifestyle affected their perspectives and discourses on students. To fully grasp the ramifications of such statements, I believe it is crucial to examine how student residences have been portrayed in the media, especially during the past decade.

Although the kızlı erkekli discussion was mainly focused on individual students' apartments, the case of dormitories was also part of the controversy. The control over the dormitories was seen as an extension of the problem of gender-mixed student houses. The first step taken officially was to intensify gender segregation in student dormitories in 2014 by Dormitories Special Student Accommodation Services Regulation[2] which enabled the Higher Education Student Loan and Housing Board[3] to take control of all dormitories in the whole country without exception. By doing so, the government took the first step toward ensuring their ideals for the student lifestyle. In 2017, this action was followed by a bylaw stating all mix-gender dormitories are separated as women's and men's separately. This enactment, which is in accordance with "religio-conservative" (Güneş-Ayata and Doğangün 2017) discourses and agendas of Justice and Development Party, shows that controlling students' dwelling arrangements has been a significant part of Justice and Development Party's youth, education, and gender policies.

Even though the case of dormitories may seem remotely connected to the purposes

[2]Yurtlar Özel Öğrenci Barınma Hizmetleri Yönetmeliği

[3]Kredi ve Yurtlar Kurumu (KYK)

of this study, these two policy interventions not only illustrate the government's specific intervention in student lives but also, due to re-configurations that the latter enactment requires, had an impact on Boğaziçi University directly as well, since quotas of dormitories in Boğaziçi University needed to be regulated. To be able to observe the requirements of the enactments, students' dorms had to regulate the number of people in the rooms but also allocate some buildings to the same-sex only. Thus, there has been a decrease in the total quotas in dorms in Hisarüstü Boğaziçi University, but also dormitories for graduate students had to be relocated to Kandilli Campus. As a result, graduate students who did not want to commute between Kandilli and Hisarüstü Boğaziçi University campuses, and those who were denied a place in other dorms, turned their attention to Hisarüstü apartments. As several of my participants have noted, this resulted in a strong demand for apartments and, as a result, an increase in rents.

3.2 Exploring Stereotypes

A resident of Hisarüstü, Nazlı is a fifth-year undergraduate student at Boğaziçi University who has lived in the area for five years. She is pursuing a double major and is also a part-time working student at Boğaziçi University. Before that, she lived in Antalya. Currently, she lives in Cami Sokak which she likes very much since it is the most popular and convenient street in Hisarüstü. When we first discussed houses and the relationship between landlords and tenants in Istanbul, Nazlı clearly described her standard version of a Hisarüstü landlord by referencing the neighborhood's history and how the neighborhood has evolved over time. She recounts the following:

> "There is a group of people who came to Istanbul back in the days, had settled in here somehow, whether it is a shanty house, somehow clinging to this place, to Hisarüstü. You know, he [referring to a hypothetical landlord] stayed here afterward, turned his house into an apartment building, and created a source of income from that building, on the one hand, he doesn't like students much, on the other hand, students are his income channel. I mean, what will he do if we [students] go? There is such communication between us [landlords and students]. On the one hand, he sometimes expresses his discomfort with the students, on the other hand, what will he do if we go? I think there is such commu-

nication between the [non-student] community and the students."[4] (24)

Her statement shows that the history of Hisarüstü as a squatter area still resonates with the current residents of the neighbourhood even though people like Nazlı have no experience or recollection of the neighbourhood as a shanty town. Such a statement intrigues me because, despite knowing little about the landlords in the neighborhood, she still passes judgment on how houseowners obtained their properties, reducing those people to stereotypical characters in the same way that Erman describes how gecekondu is associated with 'others' in urban areas (Erman 1998, Erman and Eken 2004). Although such academic debates on gecekondu and urban others are no longer widely discussed because debates on the urban areas took a new turn focusing on gentrification, neoliberal transformations (Lovering and Türkmen 2011, Karaman 2014), the neighborhood's heritage as an old shanty town carries these othering processes and stereotypes into the present day. Moreover, she points out that houseowners are financially dependant on students, implying that landlords' main source of income is rental income. As a result, I would argue that the history of the neighborhood reinforces the stereotypes she has of the landlord, creating an 'other' figure who is dissatisfied with the student's presence in the neighborhood.

In addition to these stereotypical associations in relation to the neighborhood's history, Nazlı also points out to more contemporary debates regarding student housing. From her narrative, one can see how discussions on the gender-mixed students housings and moral concerns in relation to that affect the encounters and perceptions of one another in the neighborhood. Hisarüstü landlords, in her view, are somewhat enigmatic characters who are simultaneously delighted with students as a source of revenue and irritated with them as a source of discomfort. Although she acknowledges that landlords sometimes demonstrate frustration, she does not elaborate on the reasons for the houseowners' irritation. When I inquire whether she has considered the factors behind these presumed reactions of landlords, she responds as follows:

> "In fact, I think they [*non-student community in Hisarüstü*] are extremely uncomfortable with [*students*] staying as kızlı erkekli, as they

[4] "Böyle zamanında İstanbul'a bir şekilde gelip, burada böyle bir düzen tutturup, artık gecekondu olur, bir şekilde buraya, hani Hisarüstü'ne tutunmuş, hani böyle, öyle bir kesim var. Hani daha sonra burada kalmış, işte evini böyle apartmana çevirmiş, buradan bir gelir sağlamış, ama hani öğrencilerden çok hazzetmeyen ama bir yandan da onun için gelir kapısı. Hani biz gitsek de ne yapacak yani. Öyle bi' aramızda iletişim var. Ama bir yandan böyle bazen zaman zaman rahatsızlığını belirtiyor öğrencilere karşı ama bir yandan da hani biz gitsek de ne yapacak? Böyle bir iletişim var bence yani halkla öğrenci arasında."

> say. And actually, we have some sort of relationship, they wouldn't make money without us, but they are also disturbed by our existence. They verbalize it from time to time like this. For example, it happened to me once this summer. I was on the street, but here people sit on the balcony in summer, with their friends. They play board games or something, they chat like this or something; one man made a scene like [*yelling to the students who were sitting on the balcony*] what are you doing, what you are doing is such a disgrace."[5]

According to Nazlı, one of the reasons why landlords are not content with the students is the students' *kızlı erkekli* living situation. The incident she describes includes an outsider whom she presumes as one of the locals, interfering with the student group on the balcony. The man who verbally abuses students accuses them of being disgraceful because they are sitting as a gender-mixed group. And therefore, the public visibility of gender-mixed affinity between students in this semi-public space, their balcony which I will discuss in detail in the following section, irritates the locals.

By saying this, Nazlı associates her previous narrative about stereotypical landlord characteristics regarding the history of the neighborhood and financial reliability with the age of houseowners. As she implies that the man bullied 'young' people, she associates the man's age with other elements of their supposed characteristics, setting the landlords apart from the student community as others. Moreover, while associating these features with the landlords, she actually can not possibly know that the men who verbally abuse students are indeed houseowners in the neighborhood. The possibility is that he could be an unrelated bystander. Because Nazlı has already accepted a preconceived notion of houseowners, she directly responds to my question about landlords with this example, attempting to demonstrate that landlords morally do not appreciate the lifestyle of students. As McHugh argues that unfavorable stereotypes have been associated with older residents increasingly, the case of Hisarüstü landlords is no exception (McHugh 2003). Because while Nazlı does not present any favorable characteristics about them, she also underlines that one of the other reasons why landlords are antagonistic is because of their morals. Nazlı argues that their understanding of morality causes landlords to not to like students as she tries to exemplify with an example including allusions to *kızlı erkekli* discussions.

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[5] "Yani aslında şöyle bence, özellikle halkın diliyle kızlı erkekli kalıyor olmaktan bence çok rahatsız onlar. Ve aslında şey bir ilişkimiz de var, biz olmasak onlar para kazanamayacak, ama bizim varlığımızdan da rahatsızlar. Böyle zaman zaman bunu dile getiriyorlar. Mesela benim işte bir kez bu yaz başıma gelmişti. Ben sokaktaydım ama işte insanlar böyle yazın balkonda oturuyorlar hani arkadaşlarıyla. Okey falan mı oynuyorlar, böyle sohbet ediyorlar falan, bir tane adam tutturmuş işte siz ne yapıyorsunuz, işte sizin yaptığınız rezillik gibi bir olay çıkarıyor."

Although Nazlı brings out that the reason for such conflict is their *kızlı erkekli* living situation, in both replies, she also touches upon a financial dimension although fiscal matters are not directly related to the occurrence. While the moral codes disagree with each other, financial issues concerning housing emerge as the underlying reason for the tension between the two parties. She emphasizes that landlords' livelihood depends on students. Therefore, I claim that along with preconceived ideas of older generations, housing practices shape intergenerational encounters between students and landlords even though the reason for the conflict does not the cause.

Moreover, Nazlı recounts this event to support her narrative as she thinks there are two types of attitudes intertwined towards students in the neighborhood; while some locals try to defend students, others take side with the man who verbally attacks students on the balcony. She continues her story: "Some of them [people on the street] supported him and some of them said 'what are you doing, they are students, young people are sitting there, they are doing nothing harmful'... That's why there are different opinions among people, but sometimes I think they balance each other."[6]

While describing the scene she points out that the man's strong reaction was challenged by the bystander residents of the neighbourhood. Therefore, she deducts that a certain sense of balance dominates the neighborhood while one group tolerates the students and their lifestyle, the other group are displeased with the students and harshly criticizes them. I think what she tries to illustrate here is that even though the Hisarüstü community is formed by different groups who carry a different set of values and beliefs, at the end of the day, they still manage to balance one another and co-exist in the same urban space.

Similar to the man in the previous narrative, non-student residents of the neighborhood, referred here to as the "locals", try to enforce their own moral conduct on students' way of living. A 22-year-old student Ahmet who has lived in Hisarüstü for five years describes how his neighbor across the street thought their behavior was inappropriate in the following way:

> "A woman was living in the opposite apartment. She did something like that once or twice. We were making a little noise at night. But she did not say anything that night, but the next day, she came and said, 'my son is a doctor, he came from his duty yesterday, you are having fun here

[6] "Bazıları ona destek verirken bazıları da ya işte sen ne yapıyorsun, onlar zaten öğrenci, gençler oturuyorlar, bir şey yaptıkları mı var falan gibi... O yüzden halkın arasında da böyle farklı düşünceler var ama bazen işte birbirlerini dengeliyorlar diye düşünüyorum."

> while there is a pandemic and we have martyrs", she gave a speech like that. We were a little uncomfortable with her."[7] (22)

Ahmet's experience of neighborliness is also affected by similar discourses that are mentioned above. The old neighbor of Ahmet's was disturbed by the sounds that Ahmet and his roommates made. However, it's not just the noise the students make at night that bothers her; she also thinks their behavior is inappropriate because Ahmet and his friends ignore the current events. She associates the noise with disrespect for the pain and sacrifice caused by the pandemic, including the experinces of her son who is a healthcare professional. She also displays a nationalist-conservative attitude towards students' behaviors, concluding that those students not only disregard general community rules by breaking the peace at night but also, she associates such behavior with a lack of national feelings for martyrs and respect for healthcare workers. Therefore, it is possible to say that the woman, Ahmet's neighbor, associates her young neighbors with negative stereotypes since the noise they make is not related to the things she mentioned; pandemic and martyrs. Rather than urging Ahmet and his roommates to be more quiet, she underlines a lack of respect and reprimands them.

As Ahmet narrates anecdotes from his and his roommate's daily lives in Hisarüstü, he points out that he and his roommates are called the "Disrespectful Children of Respectful Street", referring to wordplay as they live in Saygılı Street, which in Turkish means Respectful Street. They are called with such a name because events similar to that above happened frequently. Ahmet tells that he and his roommates were somewhat boisterous characters who liked to have fun and parties. However, he also tells that although recently they are well-behaved, still, this naming stuck with them. Ahmet says since they got a bad reputation, now, even with the tiniest of sound or behavior people start to complain about them because of the preconceived opinions.

However, despite Ahmet's experience of the neighbourhood or the hostility he experienced frequently, Ahmet himself also associates the locals with negative stereotypes. When we talk even further about his experiences of the neighborhood, Ahmet's association of squatter houses with the intrusive behavior of the locals drew my attention. Unlike other participants whose stereotypical description of landlord stem from neighbourhood history, Ahmet directly associates such kind of intrusive behaviour with the people who still live in the squatter houses. Although the num-

[7] "Sadece bizim işte karşı apartmanda bir kadın vardı, o böyle şey yapmıştı bir kere iki kere falan, biz işte ses yapıyorduk gene gece o da gece bir şey dememiş de ertesi gün gelmiş işte benim oğlum doktor dün nöbetten geldi siz bu korona zamanında işte şehitlerimiz var siz burada eğleniyorsunuz falan filan tarzı bir konuşma yapmıştı. Bir ondan biraz rahatsız olmuştuk."

ber of squatter houses is very limited in the neighborhood, still, some people live in them. Ahmet recounts the following:

> "While I was staying with my girlfriend on the side of the Camii Street, their next-door neighbor was having a lot of trouble there, so always pack your shoes, do something, how many people came to this house and something like that and disturbing while entering the apartment. Saying men are going in and out all the time. These kinds of things are happening, their discourse. Apart from that, when we go to other friends or something, I go down to Camii Street, for example, there are a few squatter houses there. A friend of mine was having trouble with his downstairs neighbor, for example, he was constantly saying something like, it is not clear who entered and exited the house. Things like this."[8]

While Ahmet indicates a surveillance mechanism, which will be discussed in the following section in detail, his narrative suddenly shifts. While talking about the discomfort and negative experiences, he suddenly interjects the fact that there are squatter houses in the negihbourhood and then continues with the negative hearsay that he heard from his friends. Even though the connection in his mind is not directly given, the association is clear between the locals living in the squatters and negative intrusive behaviour toward students.

3.3 Home as a Site of Intergenerational Encounter

As Nazlı recounts the event discussed above, it becomes obvious that not only do students' gender-mixed living arrangements cause annoyance among landlords, but also the exhibition of such an environment in a semi-public space like balconies stirs up trouble. In addition to the account of Nazlı alluding to the use of the balcony as a surveillance mechanism on students, other participants recounted similar occurrences in which they received negative reactions from their landlords or neighbors on the ground that they behaved inappropriately. The definition of such inappropriate behavior is mostly given as drinking alcohol on a balcony where families can

[8] "Camii Sokak tarafında da benim işte kız arkadaşımda kalırken orada onların üst komşusu epey sıkıntı yapıyordu işte böyle sürekli işte ayakkabılarınızı toplayın şey yapın, kaç kişi gelmiş bu eve falan işte böyle kapıdan çıkarken falan filan rahatsız ediyormuş. İşte sürekli erkekler girip çıkıyor falan filan tarzı. Bu tarz şeyleri oluyormuş, söylemleri. Onun dışında başka yani başka arkadaşlarıma gittiğimiz zaman falan da Camii Sokak'ın aşağına gidiyorum mesela orada da biraz daha böyle gecekondulaşma var. Ya bir arkadaşım alt komşuyla sıkıntı yaşıyordu mesela o da sürekli işte şey diyordu, kimin girip çıktığı belli değil eve falan filan sürekli misafir geliyor. Bu tarz yani."

see students, making noises, dressing in an exhibitionist manner, and sometimes just sitting as a gender-mixed group. It is evident that student behavior is closely monitored even in their apartments.

Accordingly, I believe it could be useful to discuss balconies as semi-private places in this context because balconies emerged as a place of intergenerational encounters in several interviews. By definition, "semi-public spaces provide exposure to diverse social ties, they create a sense of place and community and provide both serendipity and companionship" (Hampton and Gupta 2008, 834). On one hand, balconies are not open to the public and are only accessible to residents. On the other hand, balconies are exposed to the public eye as they can be seen from the outside. Balconies, as a result, "take on the form of public space through the ways in which they are used" (Jones et al. 2015, 645). In this case, they are formed as semi-public spaces because they are visually exposed and allow interaction with urban spaces if necessary. While accessibility is limited to those spaces that are private in that manner, being open to being public gaze includes balconies into the domain of public urban space.

Azra's story exemplifies how, despite limited access to such spaces, balconies can emerge as places for intergenerational encounters. Azra, who has lived in Hisarüstü for six years after moving from Ordu, and graduated last year from Boğaziçi University, explains how her landlord uses the balcony as a surveillance mechanism to detect outsiders visiting tenants in the apartments in her building. Azra describes her landlord's behavior as the following:

> "That is to say since the entrance of the building looks directly at the apartment, who is coming, who is going, and she can actually see all of the visitors. In other words, there is no chance of not being able to see her [when enters the building or garden] because she is sitting in the same building. She usually sits on the balcony, especially in the summer. When the door is opened from the outside, you first enter the garden and then enter the apartment. She was already seeing everyone who entered the garden."[9] (25)

Azra's landlord tracks visitors from her balcony, especially those who visit student houses in the apartment building. This watching act may appear to be accidental and random at first. However, Azra's further descriptions of her landlords' relation-

[9] "Şu şekilde, zaten binanın girişi direkt apartmana baktığı için kim geliyor, kim gidiyor hepsini görüyor aslında. Yani kendisi de aynı bina oturduğu için görememe şansı yok. Kendisi zaten balkonda oturan bir insan, özellikle yazın. Dışardan kapı açıldığı zaman önce bahçeye giriyorsun, sonra apartmana giriyorsun. Bu bahçeye giren herkesi görüyordu zaten."

ships provide additional evidence of how her landlord strictly controls those who enter the landlords' property. Azra said that her landlord was an old woman who directly interfered with Azra and her roommate's visitors. If they wanted to have a guest, they needed to introduce the guest to the landlord first, to get her approval; because the landlord wanted to know everyone who entered her property, even though the apartments in the building she owned were rented. When we talk about how Azra and her friends dealt with their landlord's behavior, she tells me that they endured everything their landlord demanded because there was a financial benefit in return. In return for the landlord's rules being followed, Azra and her roommates paid less rent for a 2 +1 apartment compared to the average rent prices in the neighborhood. As Azra puts it "our house rent was lower than average for that period. In other words, the rent for 2 + 1 houses started at 2500 lira in the period when we were looking for an apartment. Our rent was 1850 when we first moved in. Of course, this inexpensiveness had its disadvantages." Similar to what Nazlı argues in the previous section, Azra also underlines the key importance of financial reasons in their relationship with their landlords. As a result, Azra's compromise with her landlord takes on added significance as the landlord tries to impose her rules on Azra and her roommates, using financial tools to do so.

Azra defines the rules of the landlord as some kind of performance measurement. She argues that "actually, [*the landlord*] increases the rent according to the performance score" . By performance score, Azra means that if the tenant followed the landlord's rules throughout the years, the increase in the rent was minimal. However, if the tenant's performance does not please the landlord, the increase could be much higher, and the contract may not be renewed. Azra stated that their rent was increased by 150 liras in the first year, while their upstairs neighbors' rent was increased by 300 liras, demonstrating that the landlord's price is directly related to her tenants' expectations, which are frequently shaped by her moral worldview, including gender relations. Because according to the landlord, while Azra and her roommates behaved more appropriately compared to their upstairs neighbors, students living in the upstairs were deemed incompatible with the rules. Azra suspects that the reason why the landlord thought of their neighbors as noncompliant because they had visitors of not same-sex.

Azra claims that her landlord imposed strict moral codes based on stereotypical traditional gender roles, which frequently affected her and her roommates. She adds that they only managed to rent the apartment in the first place because the landlord had negotiated all the terms beforehand. Azra describes the rules as strict: "If we had a boyfriend, she wanted to meet him, and it was not possible to have our boyfriend staying every night, for example, maybe one day a week, two days

or so. There is such a rule. She was uncomfortable when someone went in and out of the house constantly." Thus, the landlord takes an active in Azra's life as an authoritative figure who gives instructions about how Azra and her roommates should manage their romantic relationships.

Furthermore, Azra stated that her landlord's advanced age influences how she treats her tenants. When I urge Azra to describe her landlord a little bit more, she continues her narrative with the following:

> "Actually, the owner of the building was the 'aunt', that is how we called her, also everyone else. She was between eighty and ninety years old. She was still living on the ground floor, her nephew was sitting on the upper floor, who was taking care of the whole building's affairs. In other words, the nephew was looking after the tenant, the invoices, and everything else. In return, she lived in that building for a better price. So, it's like she was running the building. [...] These people who come from the villages of Gümüşhane, they came here way back, when it was a shantytown. They have been there since the 1970s. Later, they turned those squatter houses into apartments, and the aunt had her own villa with a pool and so on. Apart from that, there are 10-12 flats of hers in Kadiköy. And also, I remember, her children were in Germany. She was sending four hundred thousand liras per year to each of her children. However, if need be, she would fight with us over thirty liras when there was a problem at home. She tells us, 'we also know poverty, we've been through similar experiences,' but even if it's only for thirty liras, she becomes irritable."[10]

In short, based on what Azra says, I can argue that, along with the landlord's criteria, Azra's account sheds light on various dynamics of tenant and landlord relationships in Hisarüstü. Azra states that her landlord intervenes in their house and their guests by setting strict rules for visitors and apartment conduct. Not only does their landlord, whom they refer to as their aunt, establish guidelines, but she also personally investigates visitors, acting as a warden who grants permission to her property despite the fact that she is not legally allowed to do so. However, as

[10] "Oranın asıl binanın sahibi bizim hala dediğimiz, herkesin hala dediği bir tane teyzeydi. O baya seksen doksan yaş arasında. Ama o giriş katında oturuyordu hala, bir üst katında yeğeni oturuyordu ve tüm binanın işlerine o bakıyordu. Yani kiracı alma, fatura, bunların hepsine o bakıyordu. Karşılığında da kendisi o binada daha ucuza oturuyordu. Yani binanın işletmesini yapıyordu gibi bir şey. [...] Gümüşhane'nin köylerinden gelme aslında bu insanlar, bunlar zamanında buraya gelmişler, gecekondu mahallesi. 1970'lerden beri ordalar kendileri de aslında. O gecekonduları daha sonra apartmanlara çevirmişler, halanın kendi villası da vardı havuzlu mavuzlu. Onun dışında Kadıköy'de yine bi' 10-12 tane dairesi vardı. En son şeyi hatırlıyorum, çocukları Almanya'daydı. Çocuklarının her birine senelik dört yüz bin lira gibi bir para gönderiyordu. Ve yeri geldiğinde evde bir sıkıntı çıktığında otuz liranın kavgasını yapıyordu bizimle. Bize de 'biz de fakirlik biliyoruz, biz de bunlardan geçtik, şöyle böyle' falan diyor ama işin içine otuz lira bile girse ondan çirkefi yoktu."

Azra points out, they must agree to such rules for financial reasons, as following the rules entitles them to a much lower-priced apartment than other apartments on the market.

Moreover, Azra also provides the background story of her landlord, narrating how the landlord achieved her wealth thanks to the apartment buildings which they transformed from their squatter houses on Hisarüstü. At that point, one can see that the person Azra describes actually matches the description Nazlı gave previously in the chapter. Nazlı describes her vision of a landlord from Hisarüstü who gained her wealth from the gecekondus that she built back in the day, relating the landlords to the history of the neighbourhood. In addition, the description Azra provides matches the former stereotype, as her landlord is an older, interfering woman who came to the neighborhood in the 1970s. Even the manner in which both figures intrude on the students' lives is similar: the man who verbally assaults the children accused them of behaving appropriately because they were a gender-mixed group, and Azra's landlord intervened because she believed it would be inappropriate if her tenants were seeing men whom she didn't approve of. To illustrate how her landlord relies on traditional gender roles and how she intervenes, Azra narrates how her roommate moved out of the apartment upon having an argument with the landlord.

Although Azra states that they mostly tolerate the rules imposed by the landlord for financial reasons, the situation is open to creating problems as the boundaries that are enforced interfere with the lives of students. Azra recounts an event of a conflict regarding one of the rules of the landlord:

> "Our landlord had a lot of problems with us, too, but our third roommate left quite badly. We told her all these rules, that the landlord was like this. She accepted the situation and moved in. I mean, we also accepted the conditions and moved in. Otherwise, the landlord would like you to move out anyway. At that time, the house rents had come up to three thousand liras. So at the time, 1850 lira [what they paid as a rent] was a very good figure. Frankly, we turned a blind eye to all these things. Our third roommate did not have a boyfriend at first, but later she met someone. For the time being, her boyfriend came and went a lot. This situation bothered the landlord. When we told this to the girl, she wanted to move out. Then our landlord said something about our roommate from her [landlord's] own balcony, but because she [landlord] spoke loudly, our roommate heard it too. That's why they parted on very bad terms. [...] Our landlord had also met the mother and father of our friend. I think her mother and father were also conservative people. In other words, the family of the girl did not know whether her boyfriend was in or out. I think the landlord said things like 'if I see her father,

> I will tell them', 'she is deceiving her own mother and father' on the balcony. Our friend heard these words above. As a result, they got into fights."[11]

According to Azra, when the landlord interfered with their visitors, their third roommate reacted differently. The thing to note here is all interaction is mainly facilitated from balconies of the same apartment. Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that the balcony emerges as a place of intergenerational encounter as it "makes visible the complex dynamics of intergenerational relationships and identities" (Lomax 2015, 95) but also it emerges as a "space of intergenerational transmission, contestation, and negotiation which are related to how values, beliefs, and ideas circulate amongst and between generations" (Vanderbeck and Worth 2015, 30). Therefore, the two parties' confrontation and arguments enable us to define such venues as well as the neighborhood as the places that enable intergenerational encounters.

Moreover, in this narrative, we also see how the landlord tries to influence the student tenant by using their family relations. As Azra points out, since their friends' family is conservative, the landlord tries to use this against her tenant by indicating that only she alone but also her family would deem the whole situation as immoral and inappropriate if they knew. Therefore, we can see how differences in moral views play out in efforts to arrange relationships of her tenants according to her own moral conduct. Therefore, I believe, in that case, one can see how older generations hold the idea that younger generations are devoid of virtue as Valentine argues in his discussion of prejudice and intergenerationality (2015). The behavior of the landlord based on her own idea of morally appropriate behavior affects the relationship with her much younger tenants and causes conflict.

As a result, based on the student accounts in this section, we can conclude that balconies are used to surveil student houses, which may lead to intergenerational conflict between the two parties. Accordingly, with their nature to being open to the public gaze, combined with landlords' intrusive behaviour, a supposedly private realm emerges as a space of intergenerational conflict.

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[11] "Bizle de sorunları çok oluyordu ama üçüncü ev arkadaşımız, baya kötü ayrıldı. Kendisine, ya bunları söylemiştik, ev sahibinin bu şekilde olduğunu. O da bunu kabul ederek girmişti. Yani biz de bunu kabul ederek girdik. Yoksa kadın zaten çıkın diyor. O sırada da ev kiraları olmuş üç bin lira. 1850 lira o sırada çok çok iyi bir rakamdı. Biz de buna göz yumduk açıkçası. Üçüncü ev arkadaşımızın başta erkek arkadaşı yoktu, daha sonra erkek arkadaşı yaptı. Ondan sonra bir dönemde erkek arkadaşı çok gidip geldi. Bu da ev sahibinin gözüne batıyor. Biz bunu kıza söylediğimizde de çıkmak istedi. Sonra ev sahibimiz bunun hakkında bir şeyler falan söylemiş balkondan, kendi balkonunda ama ses yukarı çıktığı için o da duymuş. Baya bir şey, kötü ayrılmışlardı yani bu sebepten dolayı. [...] Ev sahibimiz o arkadaşımızın annesi babasıyla da tanışmıştı. Annesi babası da sanırım tutucu bir insanlarmış aynı zamanda. Yani erkek arkadaşının girip çıktığını kızın ailesi de bilmiyor. O da şeyler demiş sanırım, 'onun babasını görürsem bunları söyleyeceğim' demiş balkonda, 'işte kendi annesi babasını kandırıyor' gibi şeyler söylemiş. Bunları da yukarda duymuş arkadaşımız. Bu şekilde kavgalar oldu kendi aralarında."

3.4 Looking from the Other Side: The Case of Landlords

In addition to the students' accounts discussed thus far, this section examines how morality is included in the narratives of the landlords. These show that the student community is not the only party that relies on generational stereotypes built on moral principles or who consider the history of the neighbourhood and Hisarüstü as a post-gecekondu settlement today.

Mustafa, born in Sivas in 1964, moved to Hisarüstü with his parents when he was three years old in 1967. Spending most of his childhood in Hisarüstü, Mustafa said he has deep connections with the neighborhood with an urge to protect and make it better. Currently, he owns 3 apartments in the neighborhood. He said that he and his family started with a one-bedroom squatter house. Over time, they added more rooms, and eventually, in the 1990s, they started to add new storeys to the building. Since he had no siblings, as the sole inheritor of his family's property after his mother's death, now he owns three apartments in the same building in Hisarüstü. While he is living in the apartment on the top floor, the other two are rented to students. Currently, he is not working but he said he worked as a driver for several years. Now he has earned some peace, but being the landlord is a tough, time-consuming occupation, he says, delaying his dream retirement.

When I described what I tried to achieve with my research in our meeting, his immediate reaction was that of excitement by stating he knew both students and the neighbourhood well. He questioned me about how I knew the neighborhood, why I was studying this subject, and so on. While we were talking about his tenants over the years, one of the things he said caught my attention. He said he has good communication with male students, but he said "girls are a little different"[12], probably he saw the confused statement on my face, and then he added that I should not misunderstand because he is not directly addressing me. In response, I asked what he meant by that, and he answered by referring to multiple things such as their way of dressing, their hair, how they communicate with others, and he added when he sees those female students he thinks that "I'm glad I don't have a daughter"[13].

His disapproval of female students' behavior is most evident when he added that he prefers not to rent his apartment to female students and he recounts a former incident with one of his former tenants. He recounts that he rented his apartment on the ground floor to a group of three female students, but they always have visitors

[12] "Kızlar biraz daha değişik oluyor."

[13] "İyi ki kızım yok diyorum."

in the late hours, which bothers the landlord because the front entrance door was always open in the middle of the night, but also, they permit strangers in their apartments. First, he argued that they jeopardized the safety of his family and the apartment building. Later, he also added that he had met the father of one of the students and he said if something happened to her he would not know what to say to her father because he thought it was not appropriate to say to a father that his daughter allowed men into her home in the middle of the night.

Building on such examples, I argue that gender stereotypes affect a landlord's behavior towards his tenants as well as his personal moral code. Considering his statement about the tenant and her father, it is obvious that Mustafa does not approve of such behavior. However, his association of poor moral behavior is only about female students. He does not mention any male students in the same manner. Therefore, I would say that along with a prejudice towards the younger generations, his associations are also gendered. Similar to what former participants gave the voice of in relation to gender-mixed housing and *kızlı erkekli* discussions, traditional gender dynamics still affect the way Mustafa sees his tenants.

Mustafa further argues that he tried not to interfere with that particular group of female students, but one night one of their visitors yelled in front of the apartment and broke some liquor bottles. Therefore, he also climbed down to see what was happening. He said that female students reacted to him in a bad manner by saying it was not his business. Mustafa says that it was happening on his property, how he could not be involved, and "we are being humiliated in front of our neighbors"[14] because his family does not do such things.

Further, the reasons that they could not get along well with students in general because they "they [*students*] speak another language"[15]. And he recalls that it was not like this back in the old days. He compares the older cohorts of students with the new ones and concludes that "young people today are different, they want a lot"[16]. When asked what he means by that, he talks about his grandchild and says he also behaves in a similar manner; he argues that students, which he referred to as the younger generation, witness an alternative way of life because of the internet. He implies that the young ask for unreasonable things that are not likely to happen and they are disassociated from their environments. In that point, one can argue that the separation between the youth and the older persons becomes clear-cut as a

[14] "Konu komşuya da rezil oluyoruz."

[15] "Başka bir dil konuşuyorlar."

[16] Şimdiki gençler farklı, çok şey istiyorlar.

source of conflict as Mustafa sees that communicating with the youth is not possible because of the generational differences. His understanding of younger generations implies a lack of dialogue.

Therefore, Mustafa's understanding of generations could be read from a different perspective. As it is obvious that he disdains students on the basis of their poor morals and disassociation from their environment, he compares the former generation of students to that of now. Moreover, his statement that the student and he could not communicate in the same language implies that the intergenerational nature of their relationship is the source of such conflict as their understanding of the world highly differs in terms of ideals, beliefs, and manners.

When we talked about the recent events in Hisarüstü such as pandemics, I asked what had changed in the neighborhood and if his tenants demanded anything from him. He replies that both tenants at the time requested help with their payments because in each apartment one of the tenants had left abruptly to go back to their hometown. Therefore, the roommates left behind had a hard time putting together the rent money. He told me that he really wanted to help, but his condition was no better. Since he is dependent on the money coming from those apartments and he had to pay his credit debt to the bank which he took for his son. Therefore, he said he could not reduce the rent price or postpone the payments. He also added that students overplay their hands and if they are not financially stable, they should remain in the dorms. When I told him that it is not always a student who is offered a place in the dorms, he responds that it is their choice to come to Istanbul in the first place by saying that "then what do they depend on?"[17]

He also says that it is not something unique to the pandemic situation, but most of the time, student tenants are problematic with financial issues, pointing out other stereotypical characteristics associated with students. He says that when a tenant decides to move out, the down payment almost always causes a conflict. He says that students do not care about the apartments, but they also want their money back. He also adds he is taking care of the building as a whole and it is his right to claim that money for necessary repairs even though the tenant did not break anything, things will wear off and he adds "it is not a hotel"[18], but it is his home with which he took pains. Similar to the former narratives of students, Mustafa's case also dwells on financial matters as a one of the sources of conflict between tenant and landlord.

To conclude, in this chapter, I describe how student houses are scrutinized in the

[17] Neyine güveniyor o zaman?"

[18] "Burası otel değil."

media and in what ways these representations reflect upon students' lives. Secondly, I present the stereotypes that students and landlords face due to the legacy of the neighbourhood and the media coverage mentioned above. Due to the negative stereotypical associations, housing matters and homes become places of contestation, such as balconies.

4. HOUSING DISEQUILIBRIUM: THE DYNAMICS OF THE HOUSING MARKET

This chapter examines the dynamics of the housing economy through narratives about moving, housing access, rental value, and prices. Moreover, discussions in this part also include an examination of the intrusion into the private spaces of student houses, since the narratives are intertwined with economic vulnerability and conditions of the housing market. While putting these elements at the center of the narrative, I demonstrate how intergenerational conflicts take place in relation to the housing economy. Also, incorporating the narratives of landlords, who have experienced the transformation of apartmentization over the years, I try to show how housing has emerged as a place of contestation between students and landlords. In this respect, I argue that these narratives demonstrate the economic vulnerability of students in today's rental market.

4.1 Narratives about Moving: "There Is Not a Street in Hisarüstü Where I Did Not Live"

The housing market in Hisarüstü is very dynamic due to the high student mobility in the area. However, students frequently relocate because they come across a better housing opportunity, whether it is a lower rent, better physical conditions, or closer proximity to the campus where they are enrolled. Moreover, while thousands of students gradute each year, the more students enroll to the university. Therefore, moving is not a novelty for students in the neighbourhood. In these circumstances, Mehmet, who has lived in the neighbourhood for several years, says that he has lost count of how many times he has moved from one place to another in Hisarüstü. He underlines this fact by saying that "there is no street in Hisarüstü where I did not

live".[1] He narrates that he has rented rooms, apartments, and lived in one-story houses, emphasizing that he has experienced every side of Hisarüstü in terms of housing. He also adds that not even once, he encountered an easy-going landlord. Mehmet is also my oldest participant, who is not a landlord. While all of the other students and new graduate participants are in their early 20s and late teens, Mehmet is 33 and currently working at Boğaziçi University, and he is a graduate of the university as well. Therefore, including his history and his narrative seems valuable as he knows the neighborhood and the university very well.

Although Mehmet tells several anecdotes about what he had to endure over the years while moving from one place to another, I focus on only two of those instances. Mehmet's first anecdote is about how his landlord was quarrelsome and how she forced him to move due to the landlord's erratic behavior. Mehmet's narrative includes a female landlord who is in her 60s, owns an apartment building, and lives in the same apartment as well. In this narrative, one can see how the landlord continues to be involved in the space she previously rented, interferes with her tenant's life, and tries to avoid signing a contract that protects the tenant's rights.

Mehmet tells that he was looking for an apartment at the time while he was still a student, and through some acquaintances from his workplace, he managed to contact the owner of an apartment. He stated that the apartment was in poor condition; the house was on the ground floor, it was dark, and the location of the house was in a narrow and dark area. And to reach this apartment, you need to go through a mossy concrete road because there is no access to it directly from the street. Furthermore, the exterior of the structure was covered with moss, indicating that the property's overall state was appalling. However, since the inside of the apartment was relatively decent, enough to live through, he agreed to rent the apartment. According to Mehmet, houses in Hisarüstü are in similar conditions to this apartment and sometimes most apartments are even in much worse conditions, but in order to be close to the campus, students have to comply with these conditions because there is no other choice.

Similar to Mehmet's descriptions, many other participants argue that housing conditions in the neighborhood are not optimal but students have no other choice but to rent them, especially if they are not granted a place in the dormitories. And since the landlords are very much aware of this reliance, they demand much higher rents for the bad condition of their houses, and most of the time such situation causes conflicts. And therefore, their relationship was doomed before it was even started. Therefore, I could say that the dynamics of the housing market and the limited

[1] "Yaşamadığım sokağı yok galiba Hisarüstü'nün."

numbers of apartments that cannot satisfy the demands lead to high rent prices for students. And therefore, these negative associations due to financial reasons contribute to the intergenerational encounters to be more unfavorable on the part of student tenants as stereotypes discussed in the previous have revealed.

Mehmet continues his story, telling that after he decided to rent the apartment he talked to the landlord about some items in the apartments. He requested that those items be moved since he has already furniture. However, in turn, the landlord requested Mehmet that if the furniture could stay in the apartment because the landlord argued that the apartment was made for her father and also those items belong to her father. Since the house was meant to be her father's, she reasons that the items should stay there as well. But Mehmet thought that this was an unreasonable request because he was going to rent the apartment and it will be his home at the end of the day. This was their first dispute and Mehmet says about the events: "somehow, she moved the items, but that's how I got irritated. I stay there, but she sees it as her own home. As if she is saying 'I would live there if I wanted to'".[2] Although the apartments are meant to be rented, the landlord's claim on the property still continues. The landlord thinks that the apartment was meant for her father and he deceased in that apartment, therefore, his items should remain there completely ignoring the tenants' demands. The landlord's demand that items should remain in the apartment can be seen as an attempt to regulate the private space of Mehmet's home. In that manner, one can argue that landlord's endeavor to meddle with the spatial autonomy of her tenant is a very common pattern of conflict among the younger and older generation (Xu 2015) and in this example, the tenant tries to reason with her landlord which leads to further conflict.

Further, Mehmet tells that the conflicts and disputes were growing from that point on. After he moved in Mehmet requested that they should do a rental contract to secure his rights. The landlord agreed but never made an attempt to do the contract. In the first weeks after moving, Mehmet urged the landlord a few times but she always made an excuse and said that they will get a contract eventually. After a while, Mehmet thought that he was already settled in that apartment so there would no problem. He recounts the excuses that his landlord provided:

> "Anyway, I settled in and I said let's do the contract. I am going to change my place of residence officially as well, let's make a contract. She said things like 'Let's do it next week, you have already settled in;

[2] "...Bir şekilde aldırdı falan ama ben işte böyle bir irite oldum yani. Biraz fazla ben kalıyorum ama kendi eviymiş gibi görüyor hani, ben orada istesem yaşarım tarzı bir durum."

> Okay, we'll do a contract next week, three days later or two days later'. I was constantly dealing with someone who said that 'my brother will come, my brother will understand these things, I do not understand'. Her brother came and went. They looked at me like investigating, you know that look, right?"[3]

Mehmet says he felt uneasy in front of such inquisition and the relatives came to size him up. However, after a month he was fully settled. Then, a bigger problem emerged. One day out of the blue, the landlord said to Mehmet that she gave up renting the house. Mehmet recounts his reaction as following:

> "I said that 'look aunt [addressing the landlord], I had a serious expense and moved here, let's forget the expense, moving is a spiritual challenge. Collecting your belongings, moving from one place to another is a very difficult task, you know. Nobody volunteers this job if you are not going to a very good place. I stayed a month and you know, and how do you say something like this, is this a game? There is no law between us, we did not sign a contract, you know, at one point I thought she would call the police and threaten me to get me out of the house or something."[4]

Upon such reaction and countless debates, Mehmet finally agrees to move out despite his dissatisfaction with the landlord's decision after numerous intrusions into his personal space and inconsistent behavior on the part of the landlord. Moreover, he was anxious because there was a threat of being reported to law enforcers. His anxiety upon his landlord's probable behavior implies a lack of trust but also an uncertainty which in turn increases the tension.

He stated that, as a result of his anxiety and longing for peace in his own apartment, Mehmet decided to leave on mutual agreement with the landlord. Mehmet proposed to the landlord he would move out but he needed time to find another apartment therefore the landlord should tolerate him staying there for a little while longer. Mehmet says that although the landlord was very angry and aggressive, Mehmet tried to find a solution in a more uneventful manner. Upon Mehmet's request, the landlord said to Mehmet that she did not want rent either, her only condition

[3] "Neyse, yerleştim ve dedim ki hani kontratı yapalım. Ben çünkü ikametgahımı da taşıyacağım, kontrat yapalım. Ya işte yapalım haftaya yaparız, zaten oturdun tuttun. Tamam haftaya yapacağız, işte üç gün sonra, iki gün sonra. Kardeşim gelecek, kardeşim bu işlerden anlar, ben anlamam diyen biriyle muhatap oluyordum sürekli. Kardeşi geldi, gitti. Böyle bir tipime baktılar falan hani, o bakışı anlarsın ya hani..."

[4] "Hani dedim ki hani yani teyze ben ciddi masraf edip buraya taşındım, hadi masrafı da boş ver, manevi olarak da zor bir şey taşınmak. Eşyalarını toplamak, bir yerden bir yere göçmek, baya zor bir iş yani hani. Kimse gönüllü yapmıyor bu işi eğer çok iyi bir yere gitmiyorsan. Bir ay kaldım ve hani ve böyle bir şeyi nasıl dersiniz hani bu bir oyun mu? Aramızda bir hukuk da yok, kontrat da imzalamadık ya, hani polis çağırıp beni evden attırmakla falan tehdit edecek, o noktaya geldi."

was that he would move out of the house as soon as he finds another apartment. Although they reached a mutual agreement upon many quarrels, the landlord made a scene just while Mehmet was emptying the house. While Mehmet's furniture was being moved, he said he saw the landlord coming near movers. Mehmet tells the event as such:

> "She [the landlord] started to say something in a high tone. Basically, what she said was, 'I do not let you go without paying the rent'. I said, 'are you okay? You are talking to the same person, you know? Are you aware of that? Are you mentally healthy?', I said 'I already have paid for a month's rent, you said you would not want money until I find another apartment, you have already behaved unjustly towards me, I already have a lot of expenses, I do not demand them from you, you come and say such things'. I have rarely shouted at people in my life, so I shouted much to her. She was gone because I was screaming. Then I left hastily, after the items were loaded. I even forgot my black curtain, I left it there just to avoid dealing with her."[5]

Mehmet argues that such intrusive and erratic behavior is common among older landlords of Hisarüstü based on his experiences of seven years and encounters with several landlords which bring emotional and financial burdens upon student tenants. While we were talking about the reasons why they behave in such a manner, he told me that maybe it could be something related to old age, as will be discussed further below. Moreover, he recounts that after this event, he encountered this landlord many times in the streets of Hisarüstü. When they bump into each other, Mehmet recalls that she stared at him revealing her hostility. Mehmet said these encounters carried on for a while until Mehmet decided to glare back at her because she was also grumbling things to him. He said he felt the need to put an end to it because they kept coming across and wanted to resolve the tension. Thus, one can see how the streets of Hisarüstü emerge as a space of intergenerational encounters and a place of negotiation as well due to the conflicts about housing. Since two parties kept coming across each other, Mehmet had an urge to put an end to such encounters as they were affecting his experience of the neighbourhood in a negative way which also could be interpreted as that such encounters were affecting the sense of the community, and damaging the flow of everyday encounters.

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[5] "Bu böyle apar topar indi böyle işte, yüksek tonda bir şeyler demeye başladı. Dediği temelde şeyde şuydu, kirayı vermeden göndermem. Dedim siz iyi misiniz yani hani, aynı kişiyle konuşuyorsunuz farkında mısınız, akıl sağlığınız yerinde mi falan dedim hani, dedim hani siz benden bir kira aldınız, işte sonrasında buluncaya kadar istemiyorum para dediniz, zaten mağdur ettiniz, zaten bir sürü masrafım var, sizden bunları talep de etmiyorum, gelip bir de bunu diyorsunuz falan diye böyle, ben hayatımda çok nadir bağırmışımdır insanlara, böyle baya bağırmıştım yani. Gitmişti bağırıyorum diye. Sonra bastım gittim, eşyalar yüklendikten sonra. Hatta siyah perdemi unutmuştum, sırf muhatap olmamak için perdeyi bıraktım orada."

As Mehmet recounted another tense encounter with his landlord, he seemed certain that the cause for the conflict was the landlord's advanced age, as well as the landlords' domestic problems regarding the other properties he owned. He told the story of his landlord, whom he referred to as 'dede,' which means grandpa in Turkish, and alluded to the landlord's grand old age. Dede owned a whole apartment building in Hisarüstü although he had not lived there for a long time. His daughter was taking care of the building and the tenants until dede decided to come back to Istanbul. When he came to Istanbul he lived with his daughter, however, this living situation started to create problems as dede met a woman and fell in love with her. Dede could not move in with dede's daughter because of his partner, and dede's daughter was displeased with the situation because she was the only heir to dede and the daughter did not like the possibility that dede would marry his partner making his partner a joint-heir. Therefore, dede, his family, and his partner got into huge discussions which affected all residents of the apartment building they were living in. Mehmet recounts the following actions of dede as following:

> "Dede started to build flats on the ground floor of the apartment. They were built where the part that would normally be left empty below the apartment, which is not suitable for making a flat. Walls were built there, he had made the interiors as well, he had two 1 + 0 apartments made interestingly. Dede rented one of the apartments to a student, and in the other one he started to live with his partner, there was also a child at the age of ten, he lived with the dede as well."[6]

With this narrative, Mehmet first sets the stage for later conflicts with the dede, because the landlord's familial relationships are at the root of the problems that arise later. Although the tenant has nothing to do with the landlord's familial relationships, Mehmet claims that the dede and other members of his family were constantly harassing him about the apartment he lives in with constant intrusions from the dede and other members of his family. Because dede and his partner wanted to live in a bigger place and a more decent place than the basement, they wanted Mehmet to move out so that they could settle in his place. Mehmet describes his first encounter with the landlord and his partner regarding the topic for the first time:

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[6] "Apartmanın girişinde daire olmayan bölümlere bu dede inadına daire yaptırmaya başladı, bizim alt kata. Orası normalde şeydi hani, apartmanın aşağında boş bırakılmış daire yapmaya uygun görülmemiş bölüm. Oralara duvarlar falan çekildi, içini miçini yaptırdı, iki tane 1+0 yaptırdı ilginç bir şekilde. Birini bir öğrenciye verdi dede, bir tanesinde de kadınla kendisi yaşamaya başladı, çocuk da var on yaşında, dedeyle yaşıyor yani..."

> "One day, my door was knocked, and I opened it, it was dede, the woman [dede's partner] and the child were behind him. [...] Dede said 'we will take a look at the apartment'. I said, 'I'm not available, you can't come and look'. I said 'what are you looking at in my home, the apartment is mine', and also said 'yes the house is yours, I am a tenant, unless the tenant does something that does not violate the law, this is my home, you cannot enter'. Enter or do not enter... I said 'look, I do not allow it, I said I am the person living in this apartment. He said that 'my wife will take a look, if she likes, we will move in here'. This is so absurd. You can't go inside, you know. Our rental period ends, you cannot renew the contract somehow, then you can come and check it or make an appointment, maybe it will be ok. He said 'no, I will enter' then I said 'dede look at me', I said his name, I knew his name at that time, I don't know what now, I said 'look, I don't want you to enter'. At the same time I said that 'I will not let you physically pass you through here'. He gave up, the woman said something things and raised her voice and stuff. The upstairs neighbor intervened."[7]

After that, even though dede and his relatives continued to disturb Mehmet, Mehmet says since he was getting used to the ways to survive on Hisarüstü, he tried to ignore his landlord. And when the rental contract was due, Mehmet made the necessary calculations according to the consumer price index and paid the rent with a calculated increase. In that way, his rental contract was renewed automatically for another year. We see that Mehmet has learned from his mistakes because the lack of legal contract in his previous anecdote caused disadvantages on his part. Therefore, we can say that his learning from experience helps him navigate in Hisarüstü as he becomes familiar with landlord's behavior patterns and course of conduct.

Mehmet's understanding and command of tenant law and the legal contract of lease aid him in navigating this situation, as opposed to his previous experience, in which he had to move quickly due to the landlord's untrustworthy behavior. While we continue to discuss why such problems occur in the neighborhood, we talked about that students should be more active participants on a local scale to secure and defend their tenants' rights. Because most of the time, students have a scarce choice of apartments that are affordable around the university, the unreasonably high rents

[7] "Bir gün benim kapım çalındı bir açtım dede, arkasında kadın arkasında çocuk. [...] Şey dedi, bir evi dolaşacağız dedi, bir eve bakacağız dedi. Ben de şey dedim hani yani olmaz müsait değilim, gelip bakamazsınız. Neye bakıyorsunuz evime dedim, ev benim evim dedi, evet ev sizin eviniz, ben de kiracıyım dedim hani kiracı bu konu, kiracıyı bu hukuku delmeyen bir şey yapmadıkça burası benim hanem yani, giremezsin. Girerim de giremezsin, ya dedim bakın izin vermiyorum, ben dedim bu evde yaşayan insanım. Bu diyor ki işte bizim hanım bakacak, beğenirse biz buraya geçeceğiz. Bu yani yaşadığım absürt. Geçemezsiniz içeri yani hani. Kira dönemimiz biter, bir şekilde kontrat yenilemezsiniz, o zaman gelip bakabilir ya da randevu alırsınız belki ok derim şeklinde. yok geçeceğim dedi, sonra dedim ki dede bak dedim, hani dede değil de ben o zaman onun ismini biliyordum, bilmem ne bey dedim. Bakın dedim burada geçmenizi istemiyorum aynı zamanda fiziksel olarak da sizi buradan geçirtmeyeceğim dedim. O vazgeçti, kadın böyle bir şeyler söyleyip sesini yükseltti falan. Üst komşu müdahil oldu falan."

and mercurial attitudes of the landlords have become a part of students' daily lives to deal with on a regular basis. When discussing how to improve the situation, Mehmet mentions a plan he and a friend devised to make Hisarüstü a better place for students to live. He argues:

> "At one point, we [he and his friends] were doing a lot of chit-chatting during the election time... like how can we come to power in a few steps in Hisarüstü. We had a plan set up, but then it fell apart for other things. Our plan was that to change the residence of all students of Boğaziçi University to Hisarüstü as much as possible, by doing this persistently throughout the year, to the dormitory or to something else, but it [new residency address] will be in Hisarüstü: to determine our own mukhtar candidate and share our promises with the students. The target would be mostly students. We promised to have only one promise, except for the general things, and that is, we would get an expert at Hisarüstü free of charge and learn the rent values of the houses for free, we will update the prices, and after that, the landlords will already give themselves away, and we will be able to create public pressure and open this to public discussion. We would have a system of reducing the pressure and actually reducing the rent to whatever the house's real worth. So that everyone would be comfortable, but it did not happen."[8]

Their plan was to be politically involved in the neighborhood by changing students' residential addresses. As I have argued before, even though there is a large student community that lives in Hisarüstü, not all of them are registered residents of the neighborhood. Mehmet and his friends see this situation as a handicap that refrains students from living in better conditions. He believes that once the constructive expert comes and investigates the buildings, it will be evident that such unreasonable prices for rent would be deemed inflated. Mehmet believes that students should take action against such conduct in Hisarüstü because he argues that the reason why landlords and other local authorities allow and encourage such outrageous rents and erratic behaviors of the landlords is merely the existence of students and landlords and locals want to take advantage of students as much as possible. Moreover, from the anecdote Mehmet tells, one can understand that the main dynamic that shapes

[8] "Bir ara şey geyiğini çok yapıyorduk seçim zamanında, bu yakın seçimler değil de eski seçimler, bir tanesinde birkaç adımda iktidara nasıl geliriz Hisarüstü'de diye. Bir plan kurmuştuk, fakat sonra başka şeylerden dolayı dağıldı. Planımız şuydu, olabildiğince Boğaziçi'ndeki tüm öğrencileri ikametgahını Hisarüstü'ne çekmek baya yıl içerisinde bu çalışmayı ısrarlı bir şekilde yapmak, yurda ya da şeye ama HÜ'de olacak. Onun kendi muhtar adayımızı belirleyip, vaatlerimizi öğrencilerle paylaşmak. Çoğunluğu hedef öğrencilerle. Vaadimiz de tek bir vaadimiz olacaktı genel şeyler dışında, o da şey, Hisarüstü'ne ücretsiz eksper sokacağız ve evlerin kira değerlerini ücretsiz öğreneceği, şey yapacağız güncelleyeceğiz ve ondan sonra zaten afişe olmuş olacak ev sahipleri ve bir kamu baskısı oluşturup bunu toplum nezdinde tartışmaya açabilmek ve baskıyı azaltıp, gerçekten evin ederi neyse kirayı oraya düşürmek gibi bir sistemimiz vardı. Herkes rahat etsin artık diye, fakat olmadı."

Hisarüstü is the housing market and the relationship between students and landlords. As students lie at the heart of the housing market in the neighborhood, Mehmet and his friends rightfully conclude that student's involvement with local politics could have an enormous effect to change unpleasant sides of housing like bad physical condition, dangerous structures, and high rents.

Similar to Mehmet's arguments, other participants stated similar arguments and even compared how landlords treated different possible tenants differently, again, proving that in the center of the housing market in Hisarüstü, there are students; and landlords are much aware of how they could gain the most benefit out of it.

Azra, who has lived in the neighborhood for 6 years and worked in several establishments there, believes the following:

> "Meanwhile, I was working in a cafe, a family came there. They wanted to move to Hisarüstü, and they looked for a house, but they could not find a house because they were a family. In other words, they were said directly that 'we do not rent houses', because they [houseowners] take more money from students. Since the family would not pay the same amount of money as much as paid by three students, they [the family] could not find a rental house even though they had searched. By the way, they [houseowners] do not want to rent houses to graduates either. Because the graduates will stay in that house for a long time, so they [houseowners] could increase the rent according to a certain criterion, but if the tenant is a student, [landlord] can get a deposit by giving it to a new person every year because there will be a constant circulation, and when each one [tenant] leaves, they can increase the rent of that house even more."[9]

As Azra argues, the landlords in Hisarüstü do not rent their houses to the families because of the financial gain that they profit from students. Because students usually share apartments with other roommates, the price of the apartment is also affected by how many students live there. The indispensability of Hisarüstü neighborhood, because of its proximity to the campus, compels students to agree with the demands and demeanors of the landlords. Although Azra's narrative includes negative behaviors driven by financial gains on the part of the landlord, one can

[9] "Ben bu sırada bir cafede de çalışıyordum, oraya bir tane aile gelmişti. Hisarüstü'ne taşınmak istiyorlardı ve ev aradılar ama ev bulamadılar aile oldukları için. Yani biz ev vermiyoruz demişler direkt, çünkü öğrencilerden daha fazla para alıyor. İşte aile oraya gidip de üç tane öğrencinin verdiği parayı vermeyeceği için kiralık ev bulamamışlardı yani arayıp. Mezunlara da ev vermek istemiyorlar bu arada. Çünkü mezunlar uzun süre o evde kalacak, kira artışını belirli bir şeye göre yapabiliyor ama öğrenciyse sürekli bir sirkülasyon olacağı için her sene yeni birine vererek depozito alabiliyor ve her birisi çıktığında o evin kirasını daha da artırabiliyor."

also see that similar to how Mehmet learned from his mistakes and adapted to the conduct of landlords, landlords also have adapted to the dynamics of the student community. Landlords are well aware that students usually share their apartments and there is a constant circulation around the year depending on the academic calendar of the university, landlords try to make the most out of this situation. This situation also illustrates the chain of housing, since landlords refuse to replace students with any other group. As Işık and Pınarcıoğlu argue, in such structures where financial gain is of the utmost importance in relation to housing, for property owners, it is important to maintain the base, in other words, the newcomers, since the whole situation depends on their economic vulnerability (2012, 158). Furthermore, in this case, landlords not only see newcomers as a homogeneous group, but they also make an effort to keep that group that way. As a result, they refuse to rent their apartments to non-students.

Most of the time, students needed to adapt as they think that Hisarüstü is the logical option to live in because of the location of the university. Erdem tells how living in Hisarüstü and its poor conditions is not logical, but still, students try to adapt and finance the rents in the neighborhood by comparing the rent prices in other two districts of Istanbul, namely Teşvikiye and Beşiktaş. He narrates the following:

> "Economically, the owners of squatter houses affects [the neighbourhod] very well because, how can I say, Hisarüstü is really a disgusting place, if not for Boğaziçi [University] Hisarüstü is really a very scruffy place. The homeowners are after the students to rip them off. That is because, where will the student go: to Hisarüstü. A student cannot do anything in Bebek, she cannot afford Etiler either. The existence of Hisarüstü turns into something valuable for the homeowners. He puts five thousand liras monthly price for a house you would not even pay 500 liras, you live there I mean. In that respect, they make the best of Boğaziçi University's location and bounties. [...] I mean, when we look at it, I repeat again, we give so much money to the houses that do not worth the price, that we, my friends, pay the same amount of money in Teşvikiye. They pay that money in best parts of Beşiktaş, we go, we stay in Hisarüstü, just to be closer to the school. Otherwise, they [apartments in Hisarüstü] do not really worth it."[10] (24)

[10] "Ekonomik olarak gecekondu sahipleri çok güzel etkiliyor çünkü yani nasıl diyeyim, HÜ iğrenç bir yer gerçekten Boğaziçi olmasa gerçekten Hisarüstü çok leş bir yer, insan, Oradaki ev sahipleri de öğrencinin şeyinin fırsat bilip yolma peşinde. Yani çünkü nereye gidecek öğrenci: Hisarüstü'ne. Bebek'te şey yapamaz, Etiler'de gücü yetmez. Sürekli şeyde de olmayacağı için Hisarüstü'nün varlığı ev sahipleri için şeye dönüştürüyor. Aylık işte beş bin lira koyuyor hiç 500 lira vermeyeceğin evlerde kaç paraya oturuyorsun yani. O açıdan Boğaziçi Üniversitesi'nin bulunduğu yer ve nimetlerini en iyi onlar şey yapıyor. [...] yani biz aslında baktığımız zaman, yineliyorum yine, etmeyecek evlere o kadar çok para veriyoruz ki o evleri aslında biz, benim arkadaşlarım Teşvikiye'de o kadar veriyor ev parası. Beşiktaş'ın en iyi şeylerinde veriyorlar, biz gidiyoruz Hisarüstü'de şey yapıyoruz, sırf okula yakınlık olsun diye. Yoksa gerçekten etmeyecek şeyler."

Erdem's narrative shows how landlords adapt the dynamics and situation of the student community to make the most profitable agreements although Hisarüstü is not a desirable place to live. Not only does Erdem compare the rent prices of Hisarüstü to different districts of Istanbul to emphasize how big the financial gain of the landlords are but also it is ill-gotten, but it is also worth noting how he still refers to Hisarüstü as a gecekondu neighborhood. Even though today, Hisarüstü settlement is comprised of apartment buildings mostly, due to unplanned urban sprawl and the legacy of the neighborhood, Erdem refers to Hisarüstü as a squatter settlement. Other participants also went for similar comparisons to illustrate the living conditions and also how some squatter houses are still to be found in Hisarüstü and how landlords try to make a profit through such ill-conditioned living spaces. Therefore, through this example of an ill-conditioned one-story squatter house, one can see how the economic vulnerabilities of both parties are displayed. While students experience such vulnerability over their needs of housing in a close district to the university, on the landlords' part it shows how landlords try to gain profit from their gecekondu lands.

Merve, who has been raised in Istanbul and living in Hisarüstü for two years, presents a similar case to that of Erdem. She narrates as follows:

> "That's why we chose to pay 3000 liras so that it would be a quiet place, not in the pits of Hisarüstü, we said let's not lose our mental health. [While house hunting] There was always a treatment towards students like dogs. The houses we went to see — As I mentioned, we also saw scratchy places because we went blindly calling the number from the advertisement and not knowing what to see. There was one for 1500 lira, for example, you enter through places, places that are not even streets. Like this, they put three or five tiles on top of each other, and once they put a door, they said it is a house to live in. They used it as a garbage dump, the back of the building. I say building but - it was a one-roomed shanty house. The profile is rooted from there, so let's help a student, let's do something, I have never seen it. What I've heard from my friends — I have never heard of anyone saying "Oh, I am staying in this house perfectly suitably, and my landlord is also very helpful." I studied for five years and hung out in the neighborhood; I have never heard of it. You know, even in that incident I mentioned, there were no boys and girls sitting on the balcony, no, they said she brought her boyfriend. It's a constant outside intervention, it's a constant thing. What we called locals [of Hisarüstü] are usually landlords anyway. Both the family of the landlord's spouse have a lot of flats and a lot of buildings. Under what conditions these buildings have done? You know, they all live on

rent, I haven't heard of those [landlords] who go to work."[11] (23)

Merve's account shows how landlords are dependent on the income they get from student houses. Later, she also told me landlords are so obsessed with the students and how they live because they literally have no other jobs and their properties are their means of living. Therefore, they usually try to interfere to impose their own agendas and make the most profit they can. Merve exemplifies her statements with an incident she had with her former landlord. She and her two friends decided to rent an apartment and they found a suitable one eventually and also came to an agreement with the landlord. However, since the rent was relatively high and there was an extra room in the house, they thought that it would be a good idea to take a fourth roommate to share the expenses with. However, when the landlord realizes that they were no longer three people, he demanded that the rent should be increased because of the fourth person. Merve argues that such demands show that how landlords are driven by an improper sense of financial benefit along with the emphasis that those people already acquired their properties illegally by questioning the conditions in which those apartment buildings have been built.

4.2 "It Is a Free Market": A Counter Approach to the Housing Market in Hisarüstü

As noted above, the rents are very high in the Hisarüstü neighbourhood according to the students who participated in this study. This fact is not denied by landlords, however, they argue that this is normal since demand is high, price is high accordingly. The landlords evaluate the housing market according to the conditions of the free-market economy and see their rental gain rooting from appropriating gecekondu land as a success story. On the other hand, since landlords were former gecekondu residents who have 'achieved' their properties, students deem the rental

[11] "Biz de o yüzden 3000 lirayı vermeyi tercih ettik ki sakin bir yer olsun, HÜ'nün çukurlarında olmasın, hani akıl sağlığımızı kaybetmeyelim gibisinden. [Ev] Bakarken sürekli bir öğrenciye köpek muamelesi yok değildi. Görmeye gittiğimiz evlerle—O bahsettiğim gibi körü körüne ilandan numarayı arayıp ne göreceğimizi bilmeden gittiğimiz için derme çatma yerler de gördük. 1500 liralık vardı mesela, aralardan giriyorsun, sokak bile olmayan yerler. Böyle şey gibi sanki üç beş kiremiti üst üste koymuşlar bi' de kapı koymuşlar, ev diye yaşa demişler. Arkası çöplük, binanın arkası çöplük olarak kullanmışlar. Bina diyorum- tek katlı bir gecekonduydu yani. Profil oradan yani, bi' öğrenciye yardımcı olalım, bi' şey yapalım hiç görmedim yani. Ne arkadaşlarımdan duydum— "Ay ben müthiş uygun şekilde kalıyorum bu evde, ev sahibim de çok yardımcı oluyor," diyeni asla asla duymadım. Beş sene okudum ve mahallede de takıldım hiç duymadım yani. O bahsettiğim olayda bile hani, yok kızlı erkekli balkonda oturuyorlarmış, yok işte o erkek arkadaşını getirmiş, yok işte gece bilmem kaçlara kadar uyanıklarmış filan. Sürekli bir dışarıdan müdahale, sürekli bir şey. Mahalleli dediğimiz ev sahibi oluyor genelde zaten. Ev sahibinin eşinin ailesinin de kendisinin de bir sürü daireleri var bir sürü binaları var. Hangi koşulda yapıldı bunlar? Hani hepsi kirayla geçiniyor, işe gideni duymadım."

income of landlords' as 'unfair'. Moreover, the demand for housing closer to the campuses is much higher and therefore streets such as Cami Sokak are emphasized in the narratives to underline these dynamics shaping the housing prices.

The story of Zeki, which I cover later on, can be evaluated in the transformation of housing; from a necessity in the form of gecekondu, such accomodations has turned commodities to gain profit. Işık and Pınarcıoğlu highlight that this transformation begun in the 1980s thanks to the policies of the Özal government, and argue that having a gecekondu in a city like İstanbul started to appeal to the owners as a potential source of income (2012, 165). With the income from the real estate market, it is argued that "the way is cleared for early residents of squatters to prosper by leeching off of the newcomers"[12] (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu 2012, 167). In the example of Hisarüstü, I argue that the newcomers of this equation are students, and therefore, landlords of Hisarüstü are enabled to 'succeed'. Although Hisarüstü is no longer a gecekondu settlement, the concept of 'poverty in turn' is still useful to understand how students are exposed to a housing market formed to benefit from latecomers in those conditions.

Zeki was born in 1966 in Hisarüstü and raised there. His father was an internal immigrant from Giresun who came to Istanbul at the end of the 1950s to work as a tea vendor at a commercial inn on İstiklal Street. Zeki argues that having a job as a tea vendor at an inn was a noteworthy achievement for an immigrant and he tells how his parents decided to come to Hisarüstü:

> "My father finds a tea shop on Istiklal Street, in an inn. Those were the biggest things back then, the inns. They have always gravitated towards professions such as operating a tea house in the inn, cleaning the inn, being a building attendant, in other words, being a doorman, being a gardener. My father also found a tea shop to work, therein Okmeydanı, he and my mother met here and there. They came here after meeting my mother, they say other people did it and we can do it as well, they are building houses in such and such places. They say let's go there. And these events date back to the years 1964 and 1965."[13]

Shortly after his parents built a one-bedroom house in Hisarüstü, Zeki was born. He

[12] Translated from Turkish.

[13] "Babam İstiklal Caddesi'nde bir çay ocağı buluyor, bir handa. O zamanlar han en büyük şeyler bunlardı. Handa çay ocağı yapmak, temizliği almak, bina görevlisi olmak, diğer adıyla kapıcı olmak gibi bahçıvan olmak gibi mesleklere yönelmişler hep. Babam da bir çay ocağı buluyor, oralarda Okmeydanı'nda, orada burada derken annemle tanışıyorlar. Annemle tanıştıktan sonra buraya geliyorlar, sen yaptın ben de yaparım diyorlar, filancı yerde ev yapılıyor. Hadi gidelim oraya yapalım diyorlar. Ve bu iş 1964, 65 yıllarına dayanıyor."

recalls in his childhood years, the neighborhood was called "tin town"[14], since most of the squatters had tin iron sheets made of old canisters because builders could not afford proper construction materials, or "clove garden"[15], euphemisms for the squatter house district. He also adds, today the neighborhood called Karanfilköy was built by those people who lived in the parts which they call clove garden.

Zeki sees the student community as an intrinsic part of the community today, especially when it comes to financial matters. We discuss how Cami Sokak has changed in the last decade, from a modest street to a place livid with cafes and restaurants, reflecting the transformation the neighbourhood had gone through. Today, Cami Sokak is referred to as a hive of activity, a place to socialize. Nazlı, a 24 years old student who has lived in the neighborhood for five years, describes the Cami Sokak as following:

> "I mean, if you're going to even meet someone, you say; I'm at the entrance of Cami Sokak, here you go through Cami Sokak or something, so here are the cafes there, very iconic, actually. It's especially important. There are many streets in Hisarüstü, but Cami Sokak is perhaps the oldest, if not the oldest, it is the place where people spend the most time, and it is the street with the highest rents. It's also closer to the main street, of course, which has its pluses. Here in terms of security, at least it's close to the main street considering thefts. Also, for example, I get off the bus and come to Cami Sokak, I feel like I came home."[16]

The fact that proximity to the university is an important criterion in the housing market, it causes places such as Cami Sokak to be more popular, therefore, apartments there are much more expensive than those situated in other streets. In alignment with Nazlı's description with Cami Sokak, Zeki argues that the transformation that Hisarüstü had gone through is a result of the demand from students. As the student population grew over the years, they wanted places to socialize and spend time near the campus. Therefore, the early business in Cami Sokak took the lead, and now the street is busy mainly with cafes that are generally run by non-student Hisarüstü residents. Soon, such transformation also spread through the rest

[14] "Teneke mahallesi."

[15] "Karanfil bahçesi."

[16] "Yani biriyle bile buluşacaksanız, ya Cami Sokak'ın girişindeyim, işte Cami Sokak'tan falan gir, yani işte oradaki kafeler falan, çok ikonik yani aslında. Çok önemli hani. Çok fazla sokak var HÜ'de ama Cami Sokak belki de hani en eski demeyeyim de hani insanların en fazla vakit geçirdiği yer, işte kiraların da belki en yüksek olduğu sokak falan. Ya caddeye de daha yakın tabii, bunun da artı yönleri var. İşte güvenlik açısından, işte hırsızlık falan, en azından caddeye yakın gibi böyle. Ya biraz böyle, Cami Sokak'ı mesela ben, otobüsten iniyorum, Cami Sokak'a geldiğimde hmm eve geldim hissi oluyor mesela."

of the neighborhood even though they are not as popular as the Cami Sokak. However, while Zeki acknowledges that the transformation in Hisarüstü created a new source of income for neighborhood residents and landlords who own apartments in nearby areas as their rent prices increased with each newly established business, he contends that such transformation benefits students more than locals. He formulates his reasoning on the matter as follows:

> "Here, our students, who can stay in rental houses, study and maintain themselves, work in these cafes. They work part-time. Who is this for? It is good for students and their friends. The student says that I am at such a place on Cami Sokak, her friends go there. It not only makes money for the owner of the cafe but also makes her [students'] life here a little easier, that is, it makes it easier economically. There is such a situation."[17]

As Zeki argues that students have the real gain in this situation, he does not acknowledge how the number of students is small compared to the whole student community and how their earning as part-time students are too little compared to business owners. But also, these businesses cause rent prices to increase constantly even though the physical condition of the apartment deteriorates. When I put those concerns into words, Zeki argues that the rents are high because students do not demand reasonable prices and he speaks of students as unknowing customers. Thus, he acknowledges that the high demand from students results in higher rents regardless of the conditions of the apartments, but also he underlines a customer-business owner relationship rather than a tenant-landlord connection defined by the housing. Further, he argues that the prices are a result of a "free economy" , and actually, the apartments in Hisarüstü are no different from those of Etiler. He compares Hisarüstü to Etiler and argues that Etiler is much more expensive because of urban planning and the apartments there are also not worth that much money either. His remark is that the houses in Hisarüstü are already much cheaper compared to Etiler, not as expensive and pricey as students argue.

When I express my thoughts about student concerns based on my personal experiences, he uses a grocery store analogy about expired dairy products to illustrate his point to me that if the customer does not demand the proper product, it is the

[17] "Burada, hem kirada oturup hem okuyup hem de kendini idame ettirebilecek öğrencilerimiz, bu kafelerde çalışıyorlar. Part-time çalışıyor. Kime yarıyor burası? Öğrenci ve arkadaşlarına yarıyor. Öğrenci diyor ki ben Cami Sokak'ta filancı yerdeyim diyor, onun arkadaşları oraya gidiyor. Hem kafe sahibine kazandırıyor hem kendi kazanıyor hem de buradaki hayatına biraz daha kolaylaştırıyor yani, ekonomik olarak kolaylaştırıyor. Böyle bir durum var."

customer's fault, implying that students do nothing to address high-rent prices and bad housing conditions. Therefore, students are responsible for all matters they complain about housing.

Further to support his argument, he brings up the issue of compulsory earthquake insurance. He says that "none of the students check whether the status of the houses they live in is suitable for earthquakes or not. You [*he directly refers to me during the interview as he sees me a student still*] came here with five hundred points, why bro? Everyone is afraid of the earthquake, and I am afraid too, but they don't ask."[18] He tries to emphasize students' lack of interest in their housing conditions as a source of conflict between students and landlords. When I ask how he manages such issues, he replies with more analogies from the local marketplace and mask-wearing with a bitter tone but not replying with a definite answer and concludes the meeting shortly after:

"What did I just say to you? An apartment in Etiler is worth 5 thousand because it is in 'Etiler'. What happens in Etiler? There is urban planning. Buildings have elevators. Here, in Hisarüstü, there are elevators in few buildings. It is not like that, all we want here is this; [...] you will react. Look, if a man says nothing will happen when I tell him to put on his mask, do you know what should be done to this man, Dilara? He should be reported to the police. You went shopping and the salesman said that beans are 500 liras. Did you call the authorities, did you report it? If we cannot manage these things together, what will going to happen... This is a broad subject because it is based on free economy."[19]

Refusing to make any remarks about how he manages his tenants, he usually answered questions with generic references while he did not abstain from sharing his upbringing or his experiences of the neighborhood as a success story. His attitude towards the high rents and landlord-student relationship by trying to change the subject or using ambiguous analogies to refer to students show his reluctance on the matter. He is very much aware of the high rental pricing in the neighborhood as he knows the neighborhood very well, therefore, he constantly referred to the free market economy to emphasize himself as an entrepreneurial subject who makes the most of it in accordance with the neoliberal marketplace. He emphasized his fam-

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[18] "Öğrencilerin hiç biri oturdukları evlerin statüsü depreme uygun mudur, değil midir bakmıyor. Beş yüz puanla buraya geldiniz, niye abi? Depremden herkes korkuyor ben de korkuyorum, ama sormuyor."

[19] "Biraz evvel ne dedim sana? Etiler'deki ben bin TL'lik ev sence Etiler'de olması sebebiyle... Etiler olduğunda ne oluyor, yapılaşma düzgün yani, planlaşma var orada. Planlama var. Asansörü var. Burada da var asansör birkaç tanesinde. Öyle değil işte, burada tek istediğimiz şey şu; [...] tepkini koyacaksın. Bakın, adama maskesini tak dediğimde bir şey olmaz diyorsa bu adama yapılması gereken ne biliyor musun Dilara? Emniyet güçlerine şikâyet etmektir. Şimdi sen gittin adam sana dedi fasulye 500 lira? aradın mı sen bir yeri, söyledin mi? Biz bu işin içerisinde seninle yapamazsak onunla yapamazsak... Serbest ekonomiye dayandığı için bu geniş bir şey."

ily's hardship as migrants and his upbringing to legitimize the financial gain he has by constantly using the language of the marketplace; referring to students as customers. Moreover, similar to the way students have employed stereotypical features to describe landlords, Zeki also used few tropes to define the student community as careless and inattentive in housing matters. His many examples indicating students' incapability to dominate the housing market although they are the main element in all dynamics, proves how older generations associate those negative traits with younger generations in (Valentine 2008).

But also the history of the neighborhood also takes an important place in Zeki's narrative. While students associate the neighborhood and his history with negative traits, for Zeki same attributes emerge as an indication of success and progress. Therefore, regarding this narrative it is possible to see how Zeki himself position himself as an entrepreneurial self, using the language of the free-market by referring to supply-demand ratio, consumer analogies, he describes his father and his own story as a story of success, along with emphasizing it is a choice on the students part and the risks. By situating himself in the city as it is a source for creating financial income and capital thanks to neoliberal undertake with real estate market and urban land use (Aksoy 2014, 33), he uses his past and his property to "make an enterprise of its life, seek to maximize its own human capital, project itself a future, and seek to shape itself in order to become that which it wishes to be" (Rose 1998, 154). What he envisions with himself, therefore, agrees with the tenets of entrepreneurial self with regard to the use of concepts such as profit, success, consume and the free market (Marttila et al. 2018, 569).

4.3 Defining Students as Newcomers

Ali, who was born in 1961, stated that his family moved to Hisarüstü in 1967 and built a house in one night. They migrated from Giresun, Şebinkarahisar to İstanbul because back in their hometown they were having financial difficulties. His father was a construction worker who led his relatives and fellow townsmen to come to Istanbul as well. Ali said that his father became a prominent figure over time because he helped people to settle down in Istanbul. Ali served as a civil servant for almost 30 years until he retired in 2011. While recounting his story, he emphasizes that he was one of the first ones in the Hisarüstü neighborhood who turned his squatter houses into an apartment building in 1991 because he was more financially stable compared to the rest of the community.

While recounting the event, he sounded proud since he thought he had led a transformation in the neighborhood, because soon after he completed the apartment building with the help of his brother, the other landlords undertook a similar initiative. He says today there are no squatter houses left with the exception of a few. Today, he tries to make the most of his retirement years by volunteering for various local organizations that assist the poor and assisting local authorities in locating people who require assistance due to covid. Moreover, he is also a member of the neighborhood association, Rumelihisarı Culture and Solidarity Association[20]. The association's members are landlords who own property in Hisarüstü and they make an effort to achieve a legal deed of real estate and license for their properties. The efforts of the association to achieve legal status for buildings in the neighbourhood emphasize the area's nature as a post-gecekondu settlement. Even though the transformation of such neighbourhoods has been encouraged, for urban poor to make a profit, by several legislations over the years (Bugra 1998, 310), today most buildings in Hisarüstü lack building licenses, showing that even though the neighborhood is no longer comprised of one or two-story squatter houses, the legal status of the apartment buildings is not proper despite that some landlords have some kind of property rights to the land.

Although currently his apartment is not rented for students because he had to help some relatives, Ali still tends to his brother's apartments and their student-tenants. When I ask him about how their communication is since they share the same apartment building, he replies: "It is only a simple greeting. Now, we have three or four students. I mean, it seems to me that students see us as enemies because we are homeowners. So they try not to even say hi as much as possible."[21] He argues that he senses hostility from students just because they own property and he refers to a lack of interaction. He shares that they always bump into students, but such a lack of healthy communication is because young people are cold and distant towards the residents of the neighborhood. While he implies that young people, students, look down upon them, he offers a comparison between different generations of Boğaziçi students in the neighborhood. He recalls that in his youth, Boğaziçi University was not a closed campus as it is today, and they got along with the students, playing sports games and spending time. He narrates that the early proper roads in the squatter settlements near the university campus were possible because of students and they had a sense of community back then. He said that now, there is no such thing even though students and locals live in the same neighborhood

[20] *tr.* Rumelihisarı Güzelleştirme Sosyal Dayanışma ve Kültür Derneği

[21] "Yani artık merhaba, merhaba. Yani var şimdi bizim üç-dört tane öğrenci. Yani daha önce... yani öğrenciler bizi ev sahibi olduğumuz için düşman gibi görüyorlar gibi geliyor bana. Yani mümkün olduğunca selam bile vermemeye çalışıyorlar."

because this generation of students is distant and very conceited. However, he does not see his advancing age as the reason for such a lack of interaction. When I point it out, he just laughs.

When I ask him if there could be any reason for such hostile feelings he senses, he says the high rent prices could be a reason, but he approaches this reason with suspicion. He argues that students share apartments with roommates for allegedly financial reasons. They claim, however, they do not even cook by themselves. He tries to elaborate that people who order three take-away meals could not possibly experience financial difficulties. He said that the courier traffic in the neighborhood is a sign of that, but also to the student house in his apartment, he always witnesses couriers delivering food several times a day.Therefore, he reasons that students are not financially challenged as they argue. Moreover, he also sees ordering takeaway food so many times as disorderly behavior. He says there is always noise in the apartment and there are deliveries in the middle of the night.

Furthermore, while we discuss the problems that students face in the neighborhood, he implies that students arrive in this neighborhood knowingly. He claims that the conditions in Istanbul are such that students should have come despite the risk of high rents, poor housing, communication problems, and financial distress. He sees students as outsiders who come to this neighborhood on purpose but they complain in return. He argues that he does not understand their reasons: "I don't know, buddy, why are these students coming here? What part of Istanbul they are coming to see? You know, some people come to Istanbul to attend Boğaziçi University, they actually come to study in Istanbul." For him, being in Istanbul is the real reason why those students attend Boğaziçi University and, therefore, they should be able to endure some difficulties. The important thing is here that he describes students as newcomers to the city even though he does not understand the reason fully. This statement indicates as students are seen as 'outsiders' who have no motive to be included in this system, as opposed to his family or relatives who come to the city to find employment. Therefore, he does not situate or see students as residents of the neighbourhood but he manages to maintain a sense of ownership of the place over newcomers (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu 2012, 97).

While similar complaints emerged in the meetings with the landlords, I have met Umut, who is 29, whose grandparents own two apartment buildings in the neighborhood. One of the reasons I want to speak with him is that he owns a café in Hisarüstü and is familiar with how his grandparents treat their tenants because he handles many things for them concerning tenants. Therefore, he knows the neighborhood well. When I ask him how students and locals communicate and negotiate

issues, he says there is segmentation among residents because landlords frequently reprimand students and their lifestyles, and there is miscommunication between two parties because they frequently get in contact over housing matters, which causes problems because landlords do not approve of students. He furthers argues that:

> "So, they [*students*] are to take for a sleigh ride, it seems. For example, the pandemic has once again shown that the real owners of this place are students. So yes, brother, you are angry with the student, but look, if there is no student, the tradesman cannot do business here. You cannot rent your house. The rent prices would decrease fifty percent. [...] But you are renting your house to students, and then you say they make noise. Of course, they will make noises, someone you can call a student will make a sound at home. Why not, isn't your kid's voice making noise in your house? No, the students bring men to the house... Indeed, they will. None of your business. I don't know, they say students drink. It's their house, they pay the rent. So, what will happen if it bothers you once a month."[22]

He claims that residents are divided because landlords constantly chastise students and their lifestyles and promote the idea that landlords should tolerate some behaviors which they deem unbearable. Furthermore, though he does not explicitly state it, he contends that landlords foster a sense of belonging and ownership in the neighborhood, which aids them in achieving their financial goals by establishing a power hierarchy through the rhetoric of ownership (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu 2012, 169), but the pandemic has proven the otherwise.

But also his statement is important because it shows how a younger person approaches the same topics even though he is not associated with the Boğaziçi University. I attribute his tolerance and acceptance of students as a result of his age. He does not dwell on negative stereotypes or associations, on the contrary, he thinks that the behavior pattern of students whom the landlord criticizes is acceptable and usual. He emphasizes all these by referencing that the student community is the heart of all financial activity in the neighborhood. Although the same remark is common to all participants, Umut really seems to cherish the student community as a whole.

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[22] "Yani öğrenci burada söğüşlenecek kaz gibi mi derler, öyle görülüyor. Şu an mesela pandemi buradaki insanlara buranın asıl sahiplerinin öğrenciler olduğunu bir kere daha gösterdi. Yani evet kardeşim öğrenciye kızıyorsunuz ama bak öğrenci yoksa burada esnaf iş yapamaz. Sen evini kiraya veremezsin. Burada kira yarı yarıya düşer.[...] ama sen yarın öğrenci alıyorsun, ama ses yapıyor. Ya yapacak abi, öğrenci dediğin adam evde ses yapacak. Neden yapmasın, senin çocuğun sesin evinde ses yapmıyor mu? Yok işte öğrenciler eve erkek getiriyor... Ya getirecek. Sana ne. Ne bileyim, içiyor, sana ne yani. Orası onun evi, o kirasını ödüyor. Ya ayda bir kere seni rahatsız etsin ne olacak yani."

5. CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I examine the relationship between student tenants and landlords in Hisarüstü. I analyze this relationship formed by the tenantry by focusing on the intergenerational nature of their encounters. Because, I argue that former rural to urban migrants and gecekondu settlers of Hisarüstü, today are rentiers in the neighborhoods. Thanks to the transformation of the neighbourhood from a squatter settlement into a post-gecekondu area filled with apartment buildings mainly constructed in the late 1990s, those former migrants and gecekondu owners now own apartment buildings since they appropriated the land they acquired through their gecekondus. Along with that, there is a large community of students thanks to Boğaziçi University, situated in the neighbourhood. Student mobility in the neighborhood enables landlords to rent their houses to students. Since the demand for apartments is high, high rents dominate the housing market in Hisarüstü. Considering all this, the relationship between students and tenants goes beyond housing when considering the generation gap between those groups. While students are mostly in their late teens and early twenties, landlords are usually long-established elderly members of the community. Thus, their encounters, or conflicts, according to the narratives of participants, are shaped on the basis of their generational differences.

Accordingly, in the first chapter, I contextualize Hisarüstü to build a foundation for my studies. Since the history and the existence of Boğaziçi University shape the social composition of the area, it is important to highlight the student community's place in the neighborhood. Later, in the following section of the same chapter, I present a theoretical discussion of gecekondu and urban others, intergenerationality, and student housing. Although my study does not rely on any grand social theory, I try to approach the topic using an intersectional approach to be able to illustrate the complex web of relations in Hisarüstü. Later, I describe my methodology and the semi-directed interviews that I conducted for this study, as well as my experiences in the field as a former student of Boğaziçi University.I allocate the following two chapters to findings and analysis on the basis of morality and the housing economy.

In the second chapter, I argue that morality is one of the main reasons for intergenerational conflict to occur. Although this is not a novel topic to discuss, examining how morality influences housing practices and how landlords use their moral codes to justify intruding into students' private spaces provides a new perspective on the subject of housing. First, I give a brief discussion of how student houses are scrutinized by the media and government officials by pointing out the students' immorality. I discuss how similar narratives emerged in the interviews that I have conducted by drawing attention to the phrase kızlı erkekli. This term is used by both landlords and students to discuss how landlords' ethical concerns emerge as a source of conflict between the two groups because they consider students living in gender-mixed houses to be immoral, but also accepting guests becomes a practice condemned by landlords. However, this discussion of kızlı erkekli also demonstrates that there has been a wide surveillance on students' way of life for nearly a decade. Surveillance and moral concerns emerge in further discussions about how balconies are used to oversee students and their guests.

Furthermore, kızlı erkekli discussions help to understand how negative stereotypes about youth have been shaped by elderly landlords, whereas students' prejudiced associations with landlords are based on the history of the neighborhood as a former squatter settlement and the financial reasons associated with that preconceived opinion. On the one hand, landlords regard students as undisciplined and devoid of virtue, while students regard landlords as financially motivated, malevolent, and selfish. These stereotypical preconceptions immensely affect how they communicate with each other and therefore shape their encounters profoundly.

In the third chapter, I discuss the dynamics of the housing economy and the financial ramifications of the conflict between two groups on the basis of intergenerational differences that I have discussed in the previous chapter. Rent prices, access to housing, and the physical conditions of the apartments are discussed in light of the free market economy and the transformation of Hisarüstü from a squatter settlement to its current state, i.e. a post-gecekondu area. There is a high demand for apartments in the neighbourhood since the dormitories of Boğaziçi University only offer a very limited capacity. This situation leads to high rents since there is high demand but a limited number of apartments. As a result of this supply-demand imbalance, landlords can be more financially demanding about even ill-conditioned apartments. Based on the stereotypes discussed in the previous chapter, students think of landlords as undeserved profiteers since they acquired their properties thanks to early gecekondus, while landlords evaluate the situation on the basis of a free market economy. Landlords argue that students need to deal with such challenges since students are newcomers to the city.

Taking all this into account, I believe I have shed light on the conflict between the student community and the landlords of Hisarüstü. I demonstrate how intergenerality affects the lives of university students in an Istanbul locality by demonstrating that such encounters go beyond the basic debates of tenantry.

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APPENDIX A

Images Showing Rumeli Hisarüstü's Transformation Between 1946-2018

Figure A.1 Robert College and Rumeli Hisarüstü in 1946, retrieved from Istanbul City Map, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality

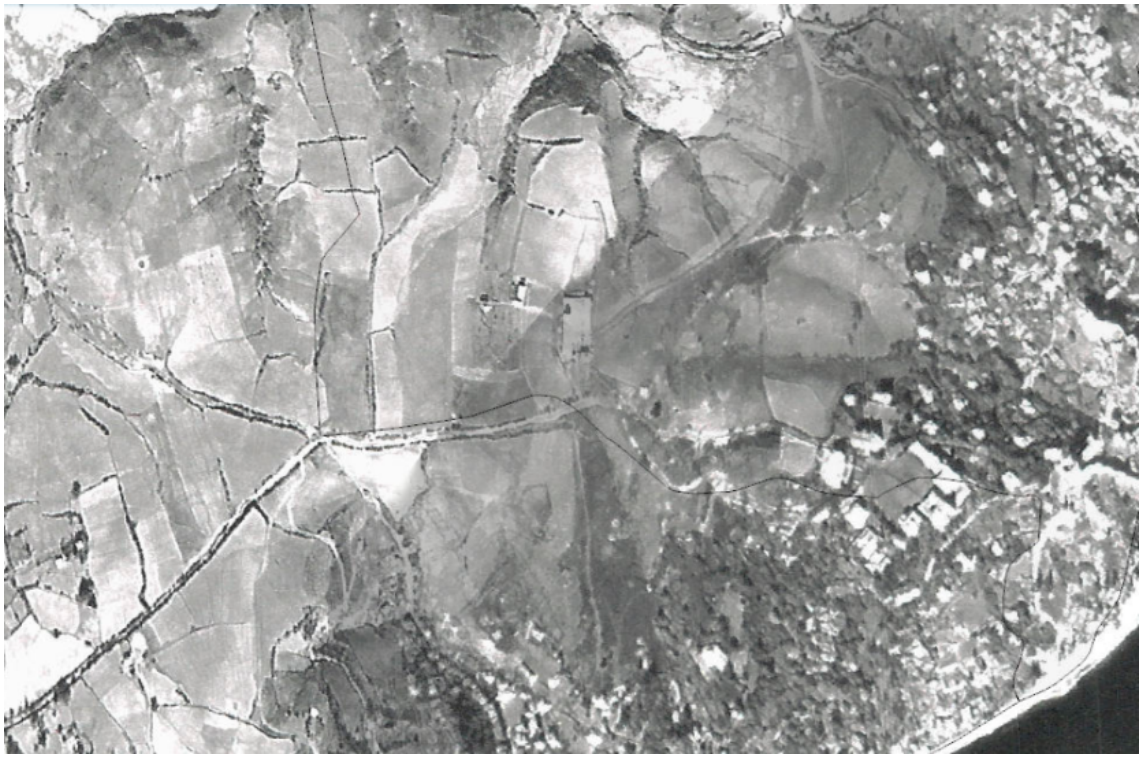


Figure A.2 Robert College and Rumeli Hisarüstü in 1966, retrieved from Istanbul City Map, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality



Figure A.3 Robert College and Rumeli Hisarüstü in 1970, retrieved from Istanbul City Map, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality

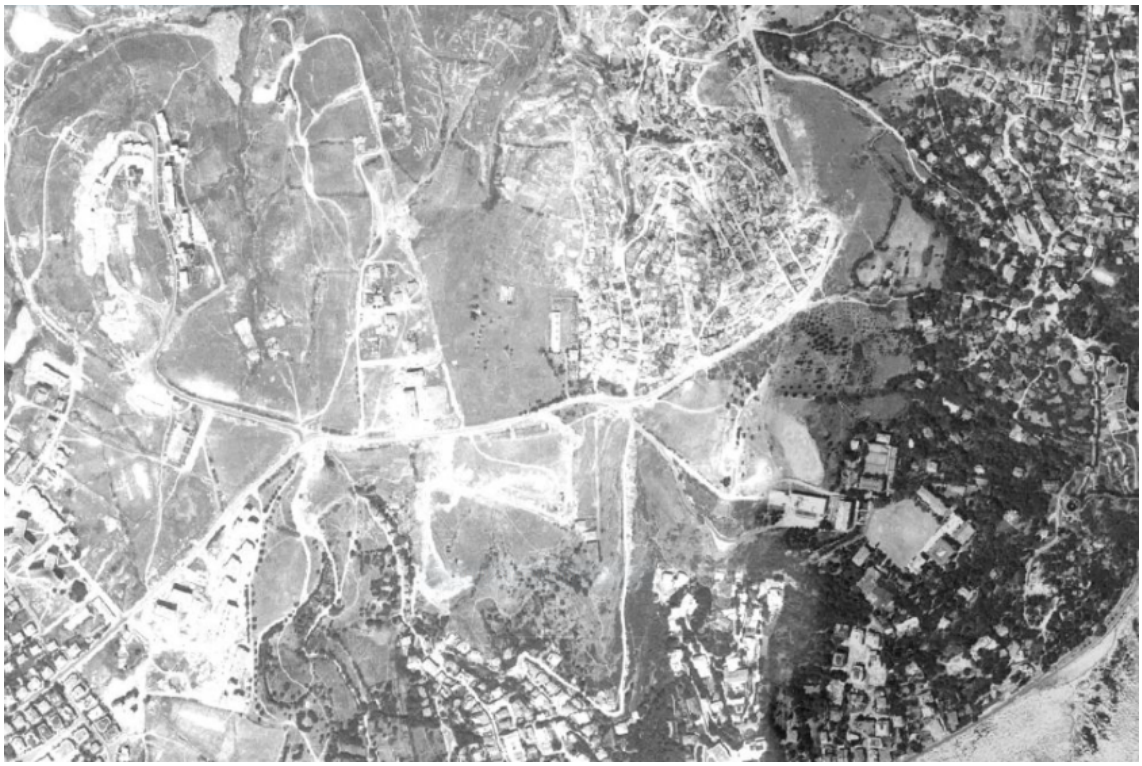


Figure A.4 Boğaziçi University and Rumeli Hisarüstü in 1982, retrieved from Istanbul City Map, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality



Figure A.5 Boğaziçi University and Rumeli Hisarüstü in 2006, retrieved from Istanbul City Map, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality



Figure A.6 Boğaziçi University and Rumeli Hisarüstü in 2018, retrieved from Istanbul City Map, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality

